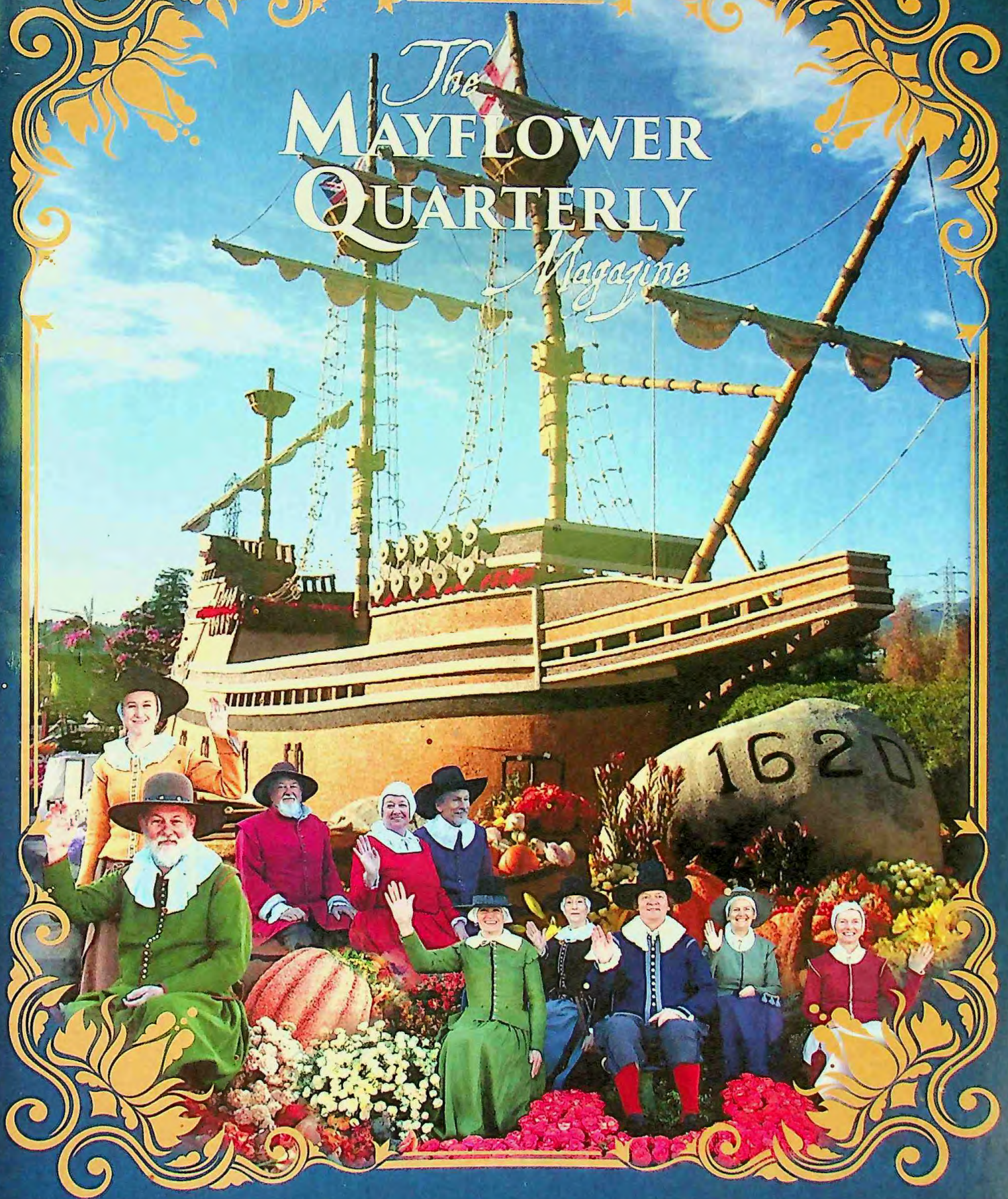
The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine



Vol. 86, No. 1

1620 – 2020

Spring 2020

The General Society of Mayflower Descendants

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2017-2020

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The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine

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Contact our Office:
508.746.3188
Inquiries@TheMayflowerSociety.org

Join GSMD For Breakfast At Heritage Week 2020

You are cordially invited to attend the General Society of Mayflower Descendants Heritage Week Breakfast featuring keynote speaker Sheila Slocum Hollis. Join us on Wednesday, April 15, 2020, from 7:30 a.m.-10:00 a.m. at the Army Navy Club in Washington D.C. for a commemoration to the 400th Anniversary 1620-2020. The price is $50.00 pp.

Program: *The Mayflower Compact and its Impact on the American Legal System* with Sheila Slocum Hollis.

The Army Navy Country Breakfast Menu will include a full hot breakfast. For those with dietary restrictions, steel-cut oatmeal may be substituted. To request this substitution, please contact GSMD Membership Services Manager Emily Brockway at 508.746.3188, Ext. 26.

Space is limited so act fast! Only 80 total reservations will be accepted. The **reservation deadline** is Thursday, April 9th, 2020. **https://www.eventbrite.com/e/gsmd-heritage-week-breakfast-2020-registration-78266215357**

For further information please email Secretary General Jane Hurt at **SecretaryGeneral@TheMayflowerSociety.org** or call Emily Brockway in the Plymouth office at 508.746.3188, Ext. 26.

The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine (ISSN 0148-5032) is published quarterly by the not-for-profit General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 4 Winslow St, Plymouth, MA 02360. The magazine is available to all GSMD members in good standing as well as by annual subscription to the public for $24 (+ shipping for those outside the continental US). Periodical postage paid at Plymouth, Massachusetts and additional offices. ***POSTMASTER:*** Send address changes to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, PO Box 3297, Plymouth, MA 02361-3297.

Deadlines for submission:

January 10:	April 10:	July 10:	October 10:
Spring Issue	Summer Issue	Fall Issue	Winter Issue

Submissions: To submit to *The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*, please email MQMEditor@TheMayflowerSociety.org. All articles submitted should be sent as Microsoft Word documents, photographs submitted should be sent as 300 dpi resolution or higher.

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Cover photos of the Rose Parade® as well as those within, courtesy of William Peters.

The Mayflower Quarterly Magazine

Volume 86, No. 1
Spring 2020

Editor's Note

What would our Pilgrim ancestors think if they were here with us in 2020?

Would they marvel at the celebrations and commemorations held in their honour around the world? Would they wonder what they had done to earn such accolades? And why, after 400 years, we had not forgotten them, that we still remembered them and we remembered their story. Yes, they gave us the *Mayflower Compact*, and as Founding Fathers they continue to make an impact on history, but as humble people, they would not think their story was at all remarkable, nor that they had done anything special to be remembered for. But we do remember, and we embrace them, their courage, their resolve, and their determination to make a better life for themselves and their families. I suspect this is what they would prefer to be remembered for, and they would understand that this is why we keep them so close to our hearts – they are family, and you keep family close. You don't forget family.

We have begun 2020 with two milestones, both occurring in January. Kudos to Governor Ray Raser, Marcia Maloney and the California Society for the beautiful *Mayflower* float in the Tournament of Roses Parade® on New Year's Day (pictured on the cover). We have also welcomed our third international Member Society, the Australia Society of Mayflower Descendants, which joins the Canadian Society (1980) and the Europe Society (2016). Congratulations to Keith Quimbach and his group!

Among GSMD's book publications in 2020 will be a new History of the Mayflower Society House by Former Governor General Bruce C. MacGunnigle. Watch for details in the summer issue.

If you have not registered for Congress 2020, what are you waiting for? Registration info and the schedule of events for Provincetown, Boston and Plymouth are included in this issue.

General Society of Mayflower Descendants

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Governor General's Message

George P. Garmany Jr., MD

"Happy 2020! Happy New Year!" These were the cries from the front of *The Voyage of Hope*, 1620, the GSMD float entry in the 2020 Rose Parade®. As you can see from this photo and other articles in this issue, all of us wearing historically accurate Pilgrim attire reached out to greet the throngs who lined the streets of Pasadena on January 1, 2020. I was there in my role as Governor General, and accompanying me at the bow of the ship was Madison Grogan, the California Junior Member who submitted the winning design and essay for the float. Her design featured the ship, the *Mayflower Compact*, and the lovely Thanksgiving-themed display that surrounded us in front of the ship. She also made sure to include some barrels in honor of her ancestor, John Alden.

Literally thousands of people-hours went into the decorations on the float, resulting in a gorgeous (if not entirely historically accurate) rendition of the *Mayflower* for everyone to see. It was especially rewarding for my wife and I to participate in the decorating work since it gave us a far better appreciation of the incredible attention to detail that goes into the Parade and all of the floats. And I simply cannot give too much thanks to the California Society members who spearheaded this event and followed it to its conclusion. They were sterling examples to all of us!

At press time we don't yet have the official TV viewership numbers, but past experience shows that millions and millions of people watch the Rose Parade® all over the world. Even though some networks cut to a commercial just when our ship came into view, it is clear that this event reached out to far more people than anything GSMD has ever done in the past. The fact that our float won the Americana Award shows that our design and portrayal were successful. What did we convey to the public? There were many messages, among them the fact that the Pilgrims came to the New World as families, that they were not the dour black-clad people portrayed in cartoons, and that they did something truly remarkable 400 years ago.

It's hard to convey the rush that we all felt when the float turned that corner and we could see the hundreds of thousands of spectators lining Colorado Boulevard for miles. Suddenly – after years of planning – we were getting our "close up" before the entire world! Everyone could see that we honored the past, but also that we were looking firmly forward to the future. In effect, that is what 2020 will be for everyone in our organization: our chance to show off GSMD and each of our Member Societies to the rest of the world. Let's all pull together so that years from now, when Madison and her generation of Junior Members are "full of years," the Mayflower Society will be stronger than ever and bringing the message about the legacy of our Pilgrim ancestors to ever-larger numbers of people across the world.

GSMD UPDATES

STAFF MEMBER

We are saddened to report the passing of Martha "Marti" Finnegan on 31 January 2020. Marti was a member, and for many years a docent at the Mayflower Society House. Marti is survived by husband Tom, daughters Courtney and Dana, and grandchildren Jack, Finn and Courtney.

2020 GSMD SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

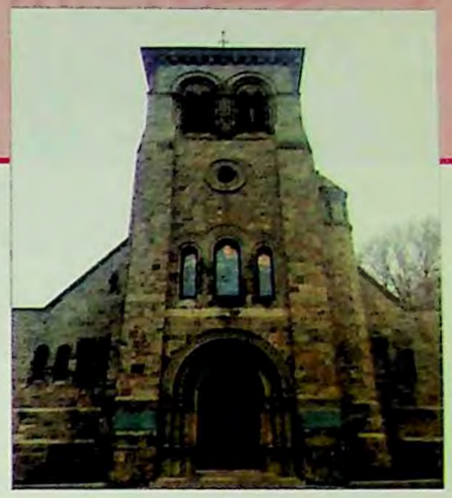
The deadline for submissions to the 2020 Scholarship Program has been extended to April 1, 2020. Those interested may apply online at **TheMayflowerSociety.org/SocietyBusiness/Scholarships**

THE FULLER SOCIETY

On September 20th, 2020, a memorial dedication will be made at the historic Nemasket Hill Cemetery in Middleborough, MA, to honor the Mayflower Fullers and Matthew Fuller. All are welcome to attend! For more information, please contact Deb Yingst at **FullerSociety@ao.com** or at **www.TheFullerSociety.org**

Mayflower Meetinghouse Update

by Former Governor General Lea Sinclair Filson



The work on the Mayflower Meetinghouse, our legacy for 2020, is becoming reality. The interior still waits for our attention, but as of the end of 2019, the exterior of the Mayflower Meetinghouse was restored and is now preserved for another 100 years. You will be surprised when you see it in person during 2020. Where before it looked grey, it now displays a yellowish tint, now that the fieldstone has all been cleaned and new mortar applied.

The copper gutters glow in the sun since it is too early for a patina to take hold. The beauty of it reminds you of a halo surrounding the structure. The Robinson windows have been reinstalled, with lights shining from the inside. At night, it is quite breathtaking to look up at the colors and hues of the stained glass. On clear nights, a bright star shines above. It almost seems to beckon you to walk up the hill.

On a quiet day, if you slip in and take a place in a pew, listen carefully. There is a brook that runs under the Meetinghouse and sometimes you can hear it. It takes you back to a time that makes your mind wander. It makes you listen for voices from the past.

Take a look at this photo. I took it during the 2018 Illumination event that took place. I have walked the sanctuary and looked from every angle and cannot figure out where the shadow that looks like Pilgrims comes from. I thought it was a shadow of the ends of the pews, but you will notice when you tour the building that the pews do not have a middle part that is higher. Each time I am there, I try again to figure it out and give up, so I have decided to just believe we had visitors that evening.

As we all prepare to visit Plymouth in 2020, please try to make plans to come and tour the Meetinghouse. We will ask members to donate $5, if possible, in order to continue to raise funds. Without a registration badge, we will charge $10 per person to tour the sanctuary. None of this will be charged on the day we begin Congress, however. The Pilgrim Progress will make its way to the square where we will open Congress in front of the Meetinghouse. We will also do a deed ceremony with First Parish Church, who generously donated the Meetinghouse to us. Afterwards, the doors will be opened, and people will be able to walk single file up the left staircase through the sanctuary and back out through the right staircase.

When you walk through, you will notice the wear and tear that occurred from leaking, followed by decay. While we will ring the bells during Congress, they are in need of a complete overhaul that will cost $185,000. We have begun to collect this through three generous donors, but more is needed. All said, we will spend another ten million dollars to complete our project.

Once finished, we will offer programming that tells the *Mayflower* story both upstairs and downstairs where a learning center will take you through many interactive displays. No matter what changes through the years as learning takes new paths, the real draw will be the Meetinghouse itself, where each of us will walk the same path down the middle aisle that our early relatives walked back in 1621. Then, because of our efforts, our future families will be able to do the same.

In Memoriam

The Society publishes in memoriam notices for officers and past officers of the General Board of Assistants and Member Societies. We extend our sympathies to the families of the following past officers.

Jerry Duncan McInnis, Past Elder of the Nebraska Society, passed away 12 April 2019 at the age of 90. He joined the Society in 2000 and was descended from William Brewster.

Helen C. Blackburn, Past Governor of the Indiana Society (1989-1992), passed away in Indianapolis, 11 November 2019, at the age of 97. Married for 73 years, she was predeceased by her husband, Mack, in September.

Vaughn Lyman Lawrence, Past Governor of the Nebraska Society (1984-86, 2001-2006), passed away 2 December 2019, at the age of 82. He joined the Society in 1975 and was descended from John Howland and Richard Warren.

Patricia Scahill, Secretary of the Indiana Society, passed away 28 January 2020. Patricia was the daughter of past Governor William Batcheider.

GSMD Nominating Committee Report

General Officers Proposed for 2020-2023

The GSMD Nominating Committee is pleased to recommend to the General Congress the following members for nomination as General Officers to serve for the term 2020 to 2023:

GOVERNOR GENERAL:

Richard Standish Gilmore, Esq., Massachusetts Society

Dick is currently finishing two terms as Counsellor General (2014-2020). He is an active resident of Danvers, Massachusetts, where he is involved in community service and history preservation. He belongs to the family associations of John Howland, Richard Warren and John Alden. Dick has been pleased to serve the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants in various capacities including Governor and Assistant General. He has served on the GSMD Audit Committee; the Mayflower Society House Committee; and is currently the Chair of the Constitution and Bylaws Committee.

Dick received a B.S. degree in Government from Colby College, Waterville, Maine, in 1966 and a J.D. degree from the Boston University School of Law in 1969. He served in the United States Marine Corps Reserves from 1969 until 1975. Dick began his legal career with the firms of Bertram W. Allen in Manchester, Massachusetts and then Jaffee and Stimpson in Boston and Lynn. He chose to be self-employed in 1979 when he opened his office in Danvers and continues there to the present. From 1981 to 1997 he was a partner in the law firm of Gilmore and Walsh before again being self-employed in 1997. He is licensed to practice law in the State of Maine, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Federal Court District of Massachusetts. He is a member of the Massachusetts Bar Association and Massachusetts Conveyancers Association. Dick is a Trustee for the National Pilgrim Memorial Meetinghouse Trust, and looks forward to continuing work with the Meetinghouse.

ASSISTANT GOVERNOR GENERAL:

Donald T. Studley, CPA, Connecticut Society

Don has served two terms as Treasurer General (2011-2017) and is currently a Member-at-Large (2017-2020) on the Executive Committee. He has been a member of the Connecticut Mayflower Society since 1991 and has served the Connecticut Society as Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistant and Assistant General. He holds an AB degree from Holy Cross and an MBA from Dartmouth. He has been a certified public accountant for more than 45 years and presently is a partner in the firm of Nanavaty, Davenport, Studley & White, LLP. in Newtown, Connecticut. His firm specializes in auditing and accounting for not-for-profit and governmental organizations. Don started his professional career as a tax manager for the international accounting firm of Price Waterhouse & Co. Don is a former member of the adjunct accounting faculty of the University of Bridgeport and is the retired chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Union Savings Bank in Danbury, Connecticut. He has been deeply involved in civic and charitable organizations in the Newtown and Danbury, Connecticut area for many years. He has served as chairman of Newtown's Legislative Council, has been a lay trustee of his church and has assumed a leadership position in many other organizations. Additionally, he is the founding president of the Heritage Preservation Trust of Newtown which he helped to establish in order to renovate and preserve Newtown's historic Meeting House. His financial background and his experience with other not-for-profit organizations have been an invaluable asset to the Executive Committee over the past nine years. He looks forward to continuing his service to the Society, including his current term as Trustee and Treasurer of the National Pilgrim Memorial Meetinghouse Charitable Trust.

SECRETARY GENERAL:

Meg Averett, North Carolina Society

Meg Averett became a member of the North Carolina Society in 2016. She serves as Corresponding Secretary for the North Carolina Society and as Governor of the Central Colony. Meg is also a member of the GSMD Meetings and Events Committee, Scholarship Committee, and the 1620 Club. Her *Mayflower* ancestor is William Bradford.

Meg received a BA in Religion from Meredith College and later earned a Master in Education from there as well. She began her career as an elementary teacher later becoming a literacy coach at the district level, mentoring beginning and veteran teachers. Meg was one of the first teachers in NC to earn her National Board Certification.

A member of several hereditary societies, Meg has served as secretary and committee chair for her chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the NC Jamestown Society among others. In the community, Meg volunteers with the Raleigh Host Lions Club. She is

an advocate for mental health and health care reform in North Carolina. We are pleased to recommend Meg as Secretary General.

TREASURER GENERAL:
Elizabeth "Liz" W. Gaudreau, CPA, Colorado Society

"Liz" is completing a three-year term as Treasurer General and has been an asset to the General Society. She became a member of the Colorado Society in 2007 and quickly became active in the Society's financial committee work. She converted the manual financial records to computer records using Quicken, converted it to Quickbooks and created comparison reports for transparency to members. In 2011 she was elected Treasurer of the Colorado Society and still assists the Colorado Society as Assistant Treasurer. She computerized the Colorado membership list in an Excel database and re-established the Society as a non-profit organization.

Liz received a BS in Accounting from Rutgers University in 1991 and earned her CPA license in 1998. She has used her skills in various corporate positions and is currently a partner at Tamey Meziere Clements CPA LLC.

Liz is a past DAR Chapter Regent and is pleased to have actively served in other hereditary societies in financial positions such as Treasurer and Auditor for the Colorado Society of the DAR, Auditor for the Colorado Daughters of the War of 1812, and the Colonial Dames of the 17th Century among others. Her considerable experience will continue to be an asset to the GSMD and we recommend Liz for election for a second term as to Treasurer General.

HISTORIAN GENERAL:
Marjorie K. Hurtuk, Connecticut Society

"Midge" is currently serving her second term as Historian General (2014-2020). She has been interested in genealogy all of her life. Over twenty years ago she began researching her family's *Mayflower* ancestry and has proved six lines to *Mayflower* passengers. She became the Connecticut Society Historian twenty years ago. During that time, she worked closely with the Historians General from Caroline Kardell to Paul Bumpus with over a thousand new members approved. She has been a member of many genealogical societies and groups for many years and has served on the Boards of the Connecticut Professional Genealogical Council and the Connecticut Society of Genealogists. She is also a researching volunteer for the Connecticut Historical Society answering genealogical inquiries. For the past eleven years "Midge" has been the Connecticut Genealogist for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America and most recently has worked with Susan Roser as a mentor for those Member Society historians that are less experienced in proving *Mayflower* genealogy.

Midge achieved a BA in History and an MBA in Finance. She worked in real estate investment and managed multi-million-dollar portfolios of commercial real estate for insurance company interests and developed skills in management and problem solving. Midge has been a volunteer for organizations such as Habitat for Humanity and Foodshare. She has also mentored teenage mothers to keep them in school and has served as a church deaconite. She has successfully served as our first non-resident Historian General and we are pleased to recommend her for re-election to the office of Historian General.

COUNSELLOR GENERAL:
Lisa Pennington, Esq., Texas Society

Lisa has practiced commercial and employment litigation for 35 years before retiring in 2018. She received a B.A., Magna Cum Laude, and J.D., Order of the Barristers, from the University of Texas. She was Managing Partner of the Houston office of Baker Hostetler for 18 years, where she was listed in Best Lawyers in America.

Lisa was elected an Executive Committee Member-at-Large (2017-2020) and was appointed as a Trustee to the National Memorial Mayflower Meetinghouse. During this time, she has prepared quarterly Member-at-Large updates and given speeches to several Member Societies and historical organizations about the Pilgrims. In addition to assisting the Executive Director on employment law matters, she has acted as GSMD's representative defending a lawsuit which had been filed against GSMD. Thus far, GSMD obtained a judgment dismissing the case. It is now on appeal, and she will continue to manage the litigation until we prevail.

In 2019, Lisa initiated a series of monthly genealogy lectures at the GSMD Mayflower House which were widely attended by the public. The lectures have been recorded and will be posted on the website for members. She is planning the 2020 schedule of lectures which will occur once a month from May to October 2020. With her vast legal experience, the committee is pleased to nominate Lisa for Counsellor General.

ELDER GENERAL:
Rev. Dr. Thomas F. Pike, New York Society

Rev. Pike is the current Governor of the New York Society. He attended the Berkeley Divinity School at Yale University and was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1963, after which he received a Doctor of Divinity degree. His first parish was at St. Mark's in the Bowery of Manhattan and served there until 1965 when he was called to St. Andrew church in Yonkers. In 1971 he was called to Calvary Church in New York City. In 1975 three historic churches

(Calvary, Holy Communion and St. George's) merged into one parish as Calvary/St. George's Church/with Rev. Pike as the Rector. He received a Doctorate of Ministry from New York Theological Seminary in 1977 and continued to serve as Rector of Calvary/St. George's until 2008 when he became Rector Emeritus of the Parish of Calvary/St. George's.

Rev. Pike has served in leadership positions for the Episcopal Diocese of New York and the National Church. He continues to live in New York City and is still active in the community. The Nominating Committee believes his considerable experience will benefit the General Society and we recommend him for election as Elder General.

CAPTAIN GENERAL:

Carter Wiese,
South Dakota Society

Carter joined the South Dakota Mayflower Society in 2002 and has served as Deputy Governor General since 2003. He joined the US Navy in 1961 and served as Hospital Corpsman stationed at US Naval Research Center at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland researching Spinal Meningitis. His discharge in 1965 as an HM2 was followed by two years in the Naval Reserves. A degree in Mortuary Science led to opening the Clements-Wiese Funeral Homes until he retired in 2002. He served on the South Dakota State Board of Funeral Service for over 20 years.

Carter is active in the community, a member of the Congregational United Church of Christ, Masonic Lodge, Consistory, Shrine & Life member of American Legion, and a member of the Armour Star Ham Players Theatre Group for 25 years. He is a board member of Carnegie Library, President of Pleasant Ridge Cemetery Association and past President of the Armour Community Development Corp. Carter and wife Sharon are active members of the Mayflower Society and charter members of the 1620 Club. The couple were honored by Governor General George Garmany in 2019 with the Governor General's Distinguished Service Award. Carter and Sharon have been vital members in their own Society, long-term participants in the activities and events of the General Society, and friends to everyone they have met. We were particularly grateful when, a few years ago, they carried out a complete inventory of the contents of the Mayflower House. The nominating committee is confident that Carter is an excellent choice for the next Captain General.

SURGEON GENERAL:

George J. Hill, M.D., D.Litt.,
New Jersey Society

George is an active member of many hereditary societies and is a Past Governor of the New Jersey Society. He is a fifth generation Iowan, the son of a small-town banker and a school teacher. Scholarships allowed him to graduate from Yale University and Harvard Medical School. He was trained as a surgeon at the current Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts. He began a career in academic surgery and became a professor at the University of Colorado, Washington University in St. Louis, Marshall University in West Virginia and was the American Cancer Society Professor of Clinical Oncology at the New Jersey Medical School in Newark. He is currently Professor of Surgery Emeritus at Rutgers University. George is a retired Captain in the U.S. Navy Medical Corps, having served in four wars.

After he retired from the practice of surgery, he continued his work as a physician and historian of medicine by earning a Master's degree in history from Rutgers University in 1999 and a D.Litt. from Drew University in 2005. He has written more than a dozen books, six are subjects of family history and genealogy, published by Heritage Books. His special interest in the history of medicine in the seventeenth century was inspired by the career of his 8th great-grandfather Dr. Matthew Fuller, surgeon general of Massachusetts during King Philip's War, and a son of the Pilgrims Mr. and Mrs. Edward Fuller.

George is an excellent speaker and plans to continue his research. The committee believes he will be an excellent addition to the General Society officers and recommend his election as Surgeon General.

The Nominating Committee is pleased to present these well qualified Mayflower Society Members for your consideration and election to General Office.

I hereby certify that these results are true and correct and comply with the GSMD Constitution and Bylaws, and the advice of Mary Scout, our independent Professional Registered Parliamentarian.

FGG Bruce C. MacGunnigle, Chair

NOMINATING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

FGG Mildred Ramos, VA, DC
FGG Judith H. Swan, CA, CN, EU
FGG Lea Sinclair Filson, LA, EU, MA
F-AGG Donald W. West, IL
F-AGG Harry P. Folger 3rd NJ, EU
DGG Reynolds Cushing, FL
DGG Charles M. Johnson, MS
DGG Lorraine A. Link, MN
DGG Marcia Maloney, CA
FMAL Virginia Mucciaccio, MA
FMAL Benjamin Proctor, Jr., MD

The History of the *Mayflower* Float: Leading up to the 2020 Pasadena Rose Parade® Entry

by California Society Governor Ray Raser

▲ Governor Ray Raser and Chuck Provost.

As the *Mayflower* float sailed down Colorado Blvd in Pasadena on January 1, 2020, it is significant that the vision for this effort began in the California Mayflower Society over two decades ago. Former California Governor, the late Gene Fortine, formed a committee to recognize the 400th Anniversary of the arrival of the *Mayflower* in the New World. According to Gene's wife, Pat Fortine, a very positive *Mayflower* supporter herself, the possibility of a *Mayflower* float was mentioned at that time. This effort was then taken up by former CA Treasurer Ward White and former LA Governor Franklin Smith. In fact, Ward White informed me that he had an initial meeting with a member of the Rose Parade® Committee and a fundraising effort was launched by Franklin Smith with several significant pledges. Due to health reasons, Ward had to withdraw and the mantle was taken up by Robert Dempster, founding Governor of the Rancho Conejo Colony and current member of our 2020 committee who had experience with the Rotary float entry in the Rose Parade®. Efforts were then prepared for the formal parade application process and the significant fundraising required by the CA Mayflower Society began.

According to Chair Robert Dempster's report in the Spring 2016 edition of the *California Mayflower Quarterly,* "an application was submitted to the Pasadena Tournament of Roses for a *Mayflower* float in the 2020 Rose Parade®." Further reports in the fall edition state that the mission of the 2020 committee was to develop a plan for the 2020 Rose Parade® float. It was agreed by GSMD that the CA Mayflower Society would provide the leadership for this project. Dempster reported that an application for a *Mayflower* float had been officially filed with TOR and that Carole Curran, an honorary director of the TOR would be advising on the float entry.

The winter 2018 edition of the *California Mayflower Quarterly* reported that the 2020 committee was setting sail for the Rose Parade®! Committee members were Robert Dempster, Chair, Jennifer Anklesaria, Susan Astarita, Sue Butler, Carole Curran, David Grinnell, Sally Johnson, Kathleen Loftman, Marcia Maloney, Scott Miller and Ray Raser. Plans for the 2020 *Mayflower* float were developed including the fundraising. Carole Curran hosted visits to Fiesta Parade Floats and several Rose Parade® events.

The spring 2019 *Quarterly* reported that "The Voyage of Hope" entry in the 131st Rose Parade® was accepting *Mayflower* member applications for riders and out walkers. Carole Curran outlined the criteria and noted a deadline of July 31, 2019. "Getting Historically Attired for the Rose Parade®" was submitted by Jane Holt Wong, costume coordinator. The *Mayflower* 2020 commemorative wine and gifts were introduced. The 2020 Rose Parade® float design and essay contest junior membership winner, Madison Grogan of the OC Colony and Grace Jenson of the Sequoia Colony were announced. Carole Curran, Rose Parade® Float Chair, not only outlined the criteria, but emphasized the importance of the various fundraising activities. Karen Schwartz, float decorating chair announced "The Voyage of Hope 1620" launch party.

Tim Estes of Fiesta Parade Floats attended our June 15, 2019 California Society bi-annual membership meeting and revealed the "The Voyage of Hope – 1620" rendering for the January 1, 2020 Rose Parade® *Mayflower* float. A *Mayflower* 2020 donation challenge of $20,200.00 was announced. Marcia Maloney was appointed CA *Mayflower* 2020 Ambassador by newly elected CA Governor Ray Raser. A 2020 committee of Robert Dempster, Kathleen Loftman and Marcia Maloney was appointed.

The final "The Voyage of Hope – 1620" *Mayflower* fundraising programs and memorabilia including challenge coins, lapel pins, post cards, a flower vial memorializing your Pilgrim ancestor and other very important float decorating criteria were announced by Karen Schwartz, float decorating Chair. The float was 55 feet long, 34 feet tall with the masts that were required to be lowered to 16 feet and 18 feet in width. It was decorated in brown and gold flaxseed

with accents of bronze strawflowers and ground walnut shells. White sweet rice and dark from nyjer seed accented details on the ship.

The rigging used an array of materials that included sesame seed, clover seed and natural hemp. Rolled oats with accents of ground nutmeg and cinnamon created detailing on the sails. Plymouth Rock was decorated with a mixture of light to dark lettuce seed, black poppy seed and white sweet rice creating a granite-like material. A beautiful array of fresh and sculptured pumpkins and squash, amid harvest-toned shade of roses depicted the Thanksgiving celebration. Thousands of bright and dark iris, white roses and sprays of dendrobium orchids and gypsophila created the Cape Cod bay.

Dry decorating days were held November 16 to 30, and December 26 through 31, 2019, with over six hundred volunteers working eight-hour shifts, often standing, kneeling, crawling or climbing to reach the sections of the ship. *Team Mayflower* volunteers from CA and other parts of the country applied these materials under the direction of a Fiesta Parade Float supervisor and *Team Mayflower* shift leads. Each element of the float was checked and double checked.

On New Year's Day, the "Americana" award winning *Mayflower* float "The Voyage of Hope 1620" sailed down Colorado Blvd in Pasadena, California to a world wide audience.

Rose Parade® *Mayflower* Float Receives Americana Award for the Most Outstanding Depiction of National Treasures and Traditions!

by Marcia Huntley Maloney, California 2020 Ambassador

Pasadena, California, January 1, 2020. What an amazing way to begin the 2020 commemoration year with our float traveling down Colorado Boulevard. *Mayflower* descendants in their correct period attire waved and spread our Pilgrim message of hope and freedom to the world. Our Governor General George Garmany represented GSMD. The ship also carried 102 red rose flower vials inscribed with names of the original passengers. 400 years later our Pilgrims traveled again!

A heartfelt thanks to the Member Societies and individuals who helped make our "Voyage Of Hope - 1620" a huge success! We are exceedingly proud of the California Society leadership for the trip of a lifetime.

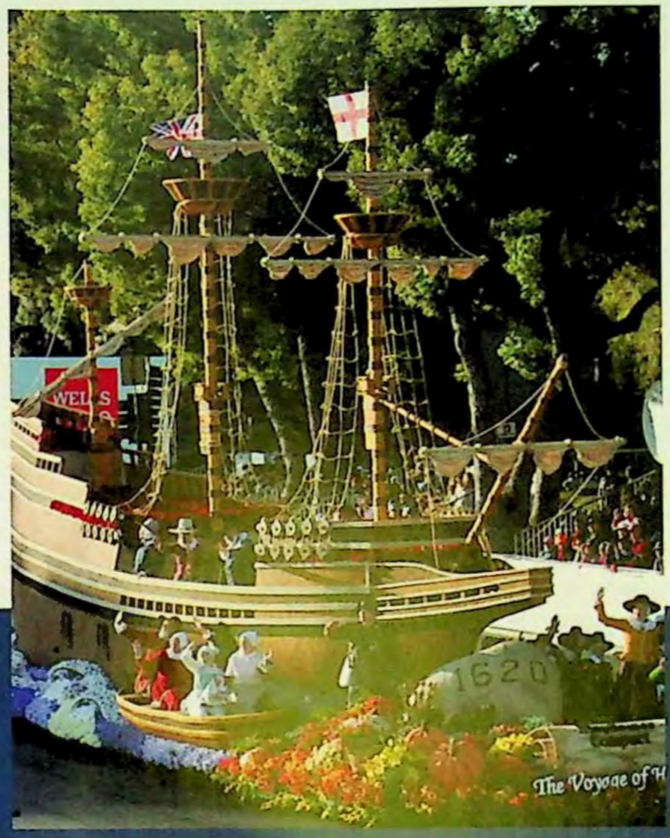
The Voyage of Hope – 1620 was entirely self-decorated. According to Karen Schwartz, float decorating chair, 500 volunteers contributed over 4,800 decorating hours, filling 700 shift slots, over a period of seven days. Volunteers came from California, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Wisconsin. Watching our cousins from around California and the country work together in this endeavor was heartwarming. Many forever friendships were forged.

Our ship and associated costs were also totally self-funded by our Society members, relatives and friends. California is grateful to all who supported the project financially, emotionally and physically. The Rose Parade® float truly educated millions all over the world who viewed the float at the parade, on social media and on TV. Live on Green and post parade float viewing added even more depth to our mission. TV interviews were held throughout decorating week when George, Carole Curran, myself and others shared information regarding why the *Mayflower* story is important today. Our 2020 Junior Ambassador, Madison Grogan, also had a positive impact on the viewers.

The Voyage of Hope – 1620 has sailed into history and leaves in her wake a renewed appreciation across this nation and in our hearts for our Pilgrim ancestors. Special thanks to Carole Curran, float chair and energizer bunny for her vision and forbearance. Our two years of planning, work and production truly paid off for the Society. Many prospective new members have already contacted us. Most people did not know the Pilgrims were so colorful. Now they do, thanks to Jane Holt Wong, our clothing consultant and advisor.

Plymouth Rock, the *Mayflower* Compact and the beginning of a nation have been shared with the world. And we are proud!

For more pictures, details and ways to purchase T-shirts, wine and other memorabilia, please visit **www.camayflower.org.**



General Society of Mayflower Descendants

Announcing the 2020-2021 Commemorative Historian Brick Walkway Program

Honoring our Historians, Past and Present!

There are many historic occasions to celebrate from 2020-2021, including the upcoming 400th Anniversary of the First Thanksgiving. In this spirit of thankfulness, the General Society of Mayflower Descendants would like to honor our Historians with a new commemorative Historian Brick Walkway Program.

Donated bricks will create a new brick pathway that will be laid along the garden side of the Genealogy Research Library. This new program is being offered to Member Societies to recognize their Historians' significant service to our Society.

Required brick format:
1st line – name of person
2nd line – name of member society
3rd line – term (i.e. 2000-2015) as historian

Note: maximum characters per line is 20 characters, which includes spaces and punctuation.

Donation: $200 per brick

In order to participate, please order your bricks by May 15, 2021, so that the new pathway can be laid in time for the 400th anniversary of the First Thanksgiving. To order, please call Kathy Liolios at **508.746.3188 ext. 25.**

Pilgrim Progress

by Beth Anderson-Godfrey

If you define the word "progress" for the 21st century, you will get a very different definition from the one used by the Pilgrims. For them, progress meant "an expedition, journey, or march through a region." That type of progress was described in 1628, by Isaack deRasieres, a New Amsterdam Dutchman who was visiting Plymouth. In a letter to Samuel Bloommaert, deRasieres gave detailed descriptions of all he had seen and learned.[1]

One of his observations told of a hill in New Plymouth, *Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof, built of thick sawn planks stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannon ... The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or fire-lock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant ... Behind the sergeant is the Governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand, the captain with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand.* The rest of the Pilgrims follow in order.

Since 1921, the contents of this letter have set the stage for the Pilgrim Progress, an annual August event in Plymouth. Every Friday evening, beginning at 6 o'clock, the march to church is re-enacted by 51 people, the number of survivors of that terrible 1621 winter. Leading this procession is the Sergeant and his drum, followed by the minister holding his Geneva Bible, and the sergeant complete in helmet, cape and sword.

To the beat of the drum, the Pilgrims walk from the Mayflower House, past Plymouth Rock, up Leyden Street to Burial Hill and the site of the First Fort. A brief sermon is given by Elder Brewster from Governor Bradford's history of the Geneva Bible followed by the singing of two hymns from Henry Ainswirth's *The Book of Psalms.* At the end of the sermon, the Pilgrims return to the Mayflower House.

Throughout the march, the men carry muskets, and the women are dressed in colorful clothes, authentic period costumes supplied by the Mayflower House. From their dresses and aprons to their coifs and hats, they dress as the Pilgrims did in 1621. See the photo of Emmett Linder, a junior with the Massachusetts Society who was fascinated with "Myles Standish" and was suitably "decked out."

Junior Massachusetts member, Emmett was fascinated with Myles Standish's uniform so he tried it out.

While in Holland, many Pilgrims earned their living in the textile industry. They learned to weave and to make natural fabrics for their clothing, such as wool, linen, silk, cotton and leather. William Brewster was successful as a ribbon maker.

The Pilgrims and the textile makers knew how to dye fabric and their clothing reflected that skill. Fruits, vegetables, flowers, berries, tobacco, nutshells, roots, leaves and tree bark all created lovely colors.

The artist whose painting showing the Pilgrims dressed in black with buckled shoes and tall black hats created the misconception of Pilgrim attire. The truth, supported by estate documents, is that Pilgrim clothing was colorful. William Bradford's estate, for example, listed "a Turkey red grograin suit, red waistcoat, tawny colored suit with silver buttons, a violet cloak of velvet, lined with a taffeta.[2]

The Elizabethan Sumptuary Laws were very strict about what class of people could wear what colors, and there were strict fines for disobeying these laws. Purple was allowed only for royalty, and only the upper class and the wealthy could afford to wear black since black was a terribly expensive dye. The portrait of Edward Winslow dressed in black is the only authenticated portrait we have of a Pilgrim painted from life, but it was not painted until 1651. By that time, Winslow had been a governor and was also a well-known politician; he would have been allowed to wear black.

As we celebrate 400 years since the *Mayflower* anchored in Plymouth harbor, you are invited to be part of the 51 marchers who will walk the same streets as the Pilgrims walked. You do not have to be a Pilgrim descendant. After you have decided to march and you have contacted Cynthia Tinney or the Mayflower House, you will receive an invitation with all the details ... time, date and place. Costumes are provided. Just remember: no makeup, earrings, nail polish, flip-flops or sneakers. Children are welcome; there are costumes for them too. Contact Cynthia Tinney at **781.878.5273** or **cmtinney@yahoo.com** and she will be sure you are included on a Friday in August 2020.

1 Sydney V. James, ed. *Three Visitors to early Plymouth,* (Bedford, MA, 1997), 76-77.

2 Duane A. Cline. *The Pilgrims & Plymouth Colony: 1620,* 1999.

Beth Anderson-Godfrey is on the Board of the MSMD, is Co-Chair of their Junior Committee and Chair of the GSMD Juniors. Beth is also a Copy Editor for the *MQM.*

Duxbury Plimoth 400th Day

by Desiree Mobed

...the people of the Plantation began to grow in their outward estates... and no man thought he could live, except he had cattle and a great deal of ground to keep them, all striving to increase their stocks. By which means, they were scattered all over the bay quickly.

– William Bradford, Of Plimoth Plantation.

Whether you call it Duxburrough, Duxburrow, or Duxbury, that patch of land just ten miles to the north of Plymouth drew several of the Pilgrim families who had earned acreage in the land division of 1627. And so began the next chapter of the Pilgrim's story as they moved on from their contracts with the original Plimoth colony and expanded into the space outside the original settlement.

You can retrace their steps in this fascinating story as you explore the houses, foundations, artifacts, ancient paths, gravestones, markers and monuments they left behind. Well-known Pilgrim names like Alden, Standish, Brewster, Soule and Sampson are woven into the legacy of this picturesque seaside town. What they left behind will help you connect with their stories. Come to Alden Historic Site in Duxbury as guests of the descendants of John and Priscilla Alden and Duxbury 2020 during the 42nd Mayflower Congress as they invite you to join them for the 17th century fun and frolic of ***Duxbury Plimoth 400 Day*** on Thursday, September 17.

From noon to 4 pm enjoy an afternoon of living history demonstrations featuring coopering, spinning and historic foodways as Alden Historic Site brings the 17th century back to life for a day. Guided tours led by experts will explore many of Duxbury's Pilgrim treasures. Capping the day will be a delightful Candlelight Music Program and Chowder Supper at the Duxbury First Parish Church, sponsored by Duxbury 2020. Seventeenth century performers "Seven Times Salt" will take you on a musical journey through Pilgrim times as you travel from taverns and theater to folk tunes and psalms. Visit **www.alden.org** for registration details about these events.

Once essential to daily life and commerce, coopers like John Alden crafted and repaired a wide variety of round wooden containers like buckets, barrels, pails and tubs to store dry and liquid materials. The ongoing coopering demonstration at Alden House will help you explore this highly skilled trade with one of the few remaining coopers in the country, re-enactor Ron Raiselis. The roles women played in feeding and clothing their families will be explored in a hearth program offered in the historic Alden kitchen and in a textile demonstration showing actual spinning and weaving of cloth. Both programs are hands-on.

Guided tours led by experts will explore the Miles Standish Burying Ground, the resting place of several *Mayflower* Pilgrim fathers and mothers, along with the nearby First Meeting House site, which was the center of religious and civic life. Tours of the scenic 1637 "Duxburrough Path" that linked homesteads along the Bay from Plymouth to Duxbury, and the foundation of the Aldens' original home site, where John and Priscilla actually lived for most of their married lives, will let the archaeologist in you experience Duxbury as they did. If you are feeling especially ambitious, check out the Standish monument with its spectacular views of the Bay and the 1623 Green's Harbor Path, which linked Plymouth and Marshfield. Enjoy these delightful walks back in time!

Alden House Historic Site, part of the property granted to John and Priscilla in 1627 and home to generations of their descendants, serves as Duxbury's Visitor Center during the 400th anniversary and is the anchor of the Pilgrim story in Duxbury. Designated a National Historic Landmark, it is the only Pilgrim family property to be continuously owned by the same family and offers a fascinating look at the couple made world famous by Longfellow's poem, "The Courtship of Miles Standish." During the tour you can explore the new exhibit of archaeological artifacts excavated from the original homesite in 1960 and recently analyzed by the University of Massachusetts-Boston. Among the highlights that provide a tantalizing glimpse of their homelife are sherds of milkpans Priscilla and her daughters used in dairying; a colorful piece of a tin-glazed earthenware charger that decorated their home; pieces of window glass that suggest small but plentiful windows for light; part of a snaphaunce gun lock used by John and his sons for hunting and militia duty, and a small brass finger ring traded by Jesuit missionaries and popular with Native Americans.

For GSMD members who can't visit during Thursday's dedicated Duxbury Plimoth 400 program, Alden House will be open Wednesday through Saturday from noon to 4 pm. Don't miss the opportunity to explore the next chapter of the Pilgrim legacy during this special anniversary. For more information, please visit **www.alden.org** or call **781.934.9092**.

Desiree Mobed is the Executive Director of the Alden Historic Site, owned and operated by the Alden Kindred of America.

CONGRATULATIONS!

TO OUR NEW MEMBER SOCIETY THE AUSTRALIA MAYFLOWER SOCIETY 2020

When the Europe Society of Mayflower Descendants was in the works in 2016, we had also heard that there was interest in a Society in Australia and we were in touch with them. It has taken a little longer, but we are thrilled to announce that we are bringing in 2020 with a bang! A new Member Society, The Australia Society of Mayflower Descendants!

Keith Quimbach is to be congratulated for his tenacity in facilitating the steps necessary to form this new Member Society.

Connecticut Society member and FMAL Steve Arnold and his wife Judy, celebrate the founding of the Australia Society during a short "tea break" with Marti Bobertz, Director of Genealogy and members of her staff.

▲ Back row, left to right: Kristi Schkade, Erin Gillett, Steve Arnold and Alison Arnold. Front row, left to right: Timothy May, Mary Alice Yost, Chris Cook, Judy Arnold and Marti Bobertz.

The Australia Mayflower Society

by Keith Quimbach

This process started with an email on 16 September 2019 from GSMD member Steve Arnold, addressed to both myself and Steve Isham who lives in Hobart, Tasmania. The letter was an introduction to the idea that there might be enough interest in Australia to form our own Society. We both agreed to pursue the idea, and went about sending out over 65 emails and some 25 letters of regular mail to potential individuals who were members from other states in the US living in Australia or people who had inquired about joining a Mayflower Society and whose address may have been Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Singapore and even Turkey.

The past few months involved meeting the requirement of having 20 members approved and with the help of Historian General Midge Hurtuk, this goal was met. Then began the task of having all of our charter members sign the petition and forward it to Secretary General Jane Hurt. We used an online "signing program" which none of us were familiar with; if it wasn't for the assistance of my wife, Genevieve, we would have ended up using snail mail. Genny has been my pillar of support in all of this, along with Steve Isham and Andrew Wells.

I have never been so determined and put so many hours into a single project (well except maybe painting the outside of my home (2015) when we lived in Scotland, PA) but I was committed to make our "deadline."

What has really brought our group together is the strong family bond we all have in preserving our heritage as descendants of the *Mayflower* passengers and passing those ideals onto the next generation or two. We are a special family group of fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, sisters and cousins.

We have come together in less than 5 months (about 129 days) and our petition for a charter was sent to the Secretary General on 26 January 2020, which is significant to us as it represents "Australia Day."

We have had a tremendous amount of support from members in Canada and Europe, as well as Steve Arnold, Governor General George Garmany and especially Historian General Midge Hurtuk.

▲ From Left to right: Fiona Rae Lynton (our Secretary), Kylie Moore, Dr. Martin Lawrence and Orel Lea - celebrating January 26th!

ALABAMA
Gulf Coast Mayflower Colony

When it comes to 2020 activities, the Gulf Coast Mayflower Colony is following a two-fold approach of **visibility** and **inclusion**. The Rose Parade® float was an excellent example of visibility for *Mayflower* descendants on a national stage. Closer to home, the Society is endeavoring to increase the visibility of its Colony and, thus, its Member Society by:

- Participating in local and regional parades,
- Conducting Lineage Workshops at local libraries,
- Launching this year's "**Do You Have Pilgrims in YOUR Family Tree?**" campaign, distributing posters and flyers, which direct people to the Colony's website, to libraries, archives, museums, senior centers, welcome centers, probate court offices and more,
- Sending out press kits for TV, radio and print media, and following up by phone,
- Continuing to fundraise with the *Mayflower 400* emblem t-shirts. The emblem increases the **visibility** of the message, as those who purchase them wear them out in public, not just at *Mayflower* gatherings.

Regarding **inclusion**, the Colony is planning activities that reach out to relatives who are also *Mayflower* descendants, but not yet members of the Society, with:

- The aforementioned parade experiences,
- An afternoon water excursion on a wooden sailing vessel,
- A *Mayflower* Descendants Family Reunion with activities such as a potluck family meal, family photos of each of the different *Mayflower* families and games such as Pilgrim Trivia and Bingo,
- A possible Pilgrim Costume Ball at the end of the year.

Information about the Colony's activities, *Mayflower 400* Emblem T-Shirts and contact information can be found at **www.GulfCoastMayflowerColony.org.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in D.C. was pleased to welcome our Governor General Dr. George Garmany as our guest speaker at our Compact Day dinner on November, 23, 2019 at the Cosmos Club in Washington. During the dinner, Dr. Garmany was presented with a special D.C. *Mayflower* banner by the Society's Captain, Richard King.

The banner was designed by the late Dr. John Pogue, Surgeon and board member of the D.C. Society, and a member for nearly 50 years. The inscription on his banner, "One Ship, One Voyage, One Spiritual Home of America," celebrates the unique character of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The D.C. Society produced his banner and presented a copy to the General Society in honor of Dr. Pogue's long and distinguished life of service.

▲ Governor General George Garmany and GSMD Executive Director Susan Belekewicz showcase the new D.C. Society banner in honor of the late Dr. John Pogue.

HAWAI'I

The State Society of Mayflower Descendants in Hawai'i held their Compact Meeting on 2 November, 2019. Those attending enjoyed a productive meeting and a buffet lunch. The Annual Spring meeting is tentatively scheduled for March 21, 2020.

Anticipation is building for 2020, and Hawai'i Society members are hoping or planning to be in Plymouth for the exciting events. If you have any ideas on how to commemorate our Mayflower ancestors in Hawai'i, please send an email to Governor Lynda Hylander at **huladancer28@hotmail.com.** This is indeed an auspicious time to be a member of the Mayflower Society!

There are still many members who no longer live in the islands that the Hawai'i Society has lost touch with; if you are one of them, please send an email to Governor Lynda Hylander at **huladancer28@hotmail.com**, Secretary Laura Ingenluyff at **lauing61@yahoo.com** and Treasurer Mary Rajkowski at **maryrajkowski@hotmail.com** to update both your mailing address and email address. As you know, the Society pays national dues to Plymouth each year for all its members and would love to know where you are and send you updates on the Society! In a more delicate matter, if you know of a Hawai'i member who has passed away, please let the Society know. Mahalo nui loa.

▲ Members of the Hawai'i Society.

INDIANA

On November 23, 2019, the Indiana Society of Mayflower Descendants held their semi-annual membership meeting and celebration of the first Thanksgiving. Members of the Indiana Jamestown Society were welcomed guests on this occasion, several of whom were members of both societies. The guest speaker was Dr. James Fadely, Professor and noted Historian, whose presentation "Comparing and

▲ National Officers Laura Smith and Chuck Provost present a Certificate of Commendation to past Indiana Governor Laura Stocker (center).

Contrasting the Settlements of Jamestown and Plymouth" was of great interest to members and guests alike.

National officers Laura Smith and Chuck Provost presented a Certificate of Commendation from the GSMD to Past Indiana Governor, Laura Stocker, for her tireless service and numerous contributions she has made to the Indiana Society. It was under her leadership that the Indiana Society hosted the GBOA in 2016, which also commemorated the Indiana Society's 100th Anniversary.

In honor of the 400th Anniversary of the landing of the *Mayflower*, an Indiana Society commemorative pin was designed and made available to members. Chuck Provost, DGG and member of the *Mayflower* Guard, announced that he would be marching in his authentic costume, complete with armor, alongside the Mayflower Society float in the Tournament of Roses Parade® on New Year's Day. Board Members and Officers were presented to the membership: the Governor's gavel, medallion and pin were passed from Governor Linda McGlothlin to incoming Governor Dr. Deb Givan.

KANSAS

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Kansas was honored to have Governor General Dr. George Garmany, Jr., as its guest speaker for its November 3, 2019, fall meeting at the Capital Plaza Hotel and Convention Center in Topeka, Kansas. One hundred and eighteen members and guests were in attendance to meet the Governor General and hear his timely and informative program outlining the history and current projects of the General Society as well as the extensive planning for the 2020 Commemoration events.

The ballroom was filled with considerable energy in anticipation of the program as many members are planning to journey to Plymouth, Boston and Provincetown, MA in September to participate in the 400th Anniversary commemorations and Congress. Several members were also travelling to Pasadena, CA to help decorate the "Voyage of Hope float" and watch the January 1st Tournament of Roses Parade® in person.

▲ Back row, left to right: Matt Brady, Greg Bair, Walter Murphy and John Sherman. Middle row, left to right: Jamie Riddell, Mary McCue, Chris Sizemore, Janet Kelley and Lou Ann Youngblood. Seated, left to right: Jane Hurt, George Garmany and Della Regenold.

Other highlights:

- Junior member M. J. Brady presented the *Mayflower Moment* on the history of William Bradford's 400-year-old manuscript of *Plimoth Plantation*, which will be on display at the Massachusetts Statehouse reception on September 14, 2020.
- Kansas Historian Walter Murphy, Governor General Garmany and Kansas Governor Della Regenold welcomed 16 enthusiastic new members into the Mayflower Society.
- Governor General Garmany, Secretary General Jane Hurt, a member of the GSMD Awards Committee, and Kansas Governor Della Regenold presented Historian Walter Murphy with his GSMD Commendation Award Certificate for his many hours of volunteer work on behalf of the Kansas Society.
- Three Kansas Society members, Melvin W. McIntire, Frederic A. McBurney and Isabel Carman Lesh were remembered during the Memorial Service. Following the reading of all three names, the Kansas Society Mayflower Bell rang eight times, which on a ship signifies end of watch or burial at sea.
- Governor General Garmany also attended the Kansas Society BOA meeting in the morning and took time for photos with Kansas Society officers and members.

KENTUCKY

At the November 2, 2019 KSMD Board Meeting, Governor Ben Talbott established a special committee to create ways for the commemoration in Kentucky of the *Mayflower's* 400th Anniversary. Anissa Davis volunteered for and was appointed Chair of that committee, and several other Board Members immediately agreed to join, including Betty Burton, Libby Berryman, Evelyn Zolondek and John Ward.

Governor Talbott presented this new committee with a list of 16 possible projects, some of which he decided upon following his discussions with a number of other *Mayflower* Member Society Governors at the GSMD Annual Meeting in Denver, Colorado in September 2019. Possible projects include:

- Providing speakers to various schools, churches, clubs or other organizations around the state to speak about the history of the *Mayflower's* landing at Plymouth and the importance of the Pilgrims and the *Mayflower* Compact in the development of America,
- Holding a race during Derby Week at Churchill Downs named after the *Mayflower*,
- A public recognition of Berea College by KSMD or GSMD with a plaque object acknowledging the use of its white oak timber in the building of the *Ship Mayflower* replica,
- A service of remembrance, thanksgiving and gratitude for the *Mayflower* Pilgrims and their concern for and spread of the Christian religion, values and morals, including the principles of freedom of religion and separation of church and state, and the adoption of English common law. This could perhaps be done at several different churches in various cities and towns in Kentucky.
- Seeking formal recognition of the *Mayflower's* 400th Anniversary by the Kentucky Governor and by various mayors and other office holders around the state,
- Distributing the *Mayflower* Compact to interested schools all over Kentucky, along with a paper explaining the historical significance of the *Mayflower* Compact in America's development, and encouraging schools to include Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish" in English classes,
- Providing a bronze plaque of the *Mayflower* Compact to the cities of Louisville, Lexington or Frankfort on condition that it be installed in an appropriate location for people to see and read,
- To spread information also of the existence of the KSMD and the GSMD and to encourage those who are eligible for membership to join these Societies.

LOUISIANA

The Louisiana Society is pleased to announce that the Louisiana Mayflower Society Cotillion will be held on Saturday, November 14, 2020 at the New Orleans Country Club. This is the night the Society honors the young people of its organization with a social presentation.

After the presentation, attendees will feast on a traditional Pilgrim breakfast, and then dance the night away. The cotillion is the Society's grandest affair and is enjoyed by members and friends alike. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact cotillion committee co-chairs Naomi Mann at 504.905.5221 or Heather Green Matrana at 804.306.1324.

MAINE

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Maine will celebrate both the 400th Anniversary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*, and the 200th birthday of the State of Maine during 2020.

Our Pilgrim forefathers established the Cushnoc Trading Post near Augusta, Maine in 1627. There are plans ahead for the rebuilding of the post at its original site.

On August 1, 2020, the Maine Society will hold its 400th Celebration at the Spruce Point Inn, Boothbay Harbor. Boat tours will be offered from Boothbay Harbor out to beautiful Monhegan Island, where the Pilgrims came for food shortly after their arrival in Plymouth. Governor General George Garmany will be the honored guest.

MICHIGAN

The Society of Mayflower Descendants in Michigan launched an early 2020 celebration at its Compact Day luncheon November 2, 2019 with the display of a stunning quilt created by member Dorothy Estelle. Titled "1620 *Mayflower* Pilgrims Living in America," the array of 15 eye-catching quilt blocks illustrates colorful scenes of Pilgrim life at New Plymouth. Patricia Brown provided "1620 – Pilgrim Landing – 2020" Michigan Society tote

▲ Member Dorothy Estelle and Governor General George Garmany pose with the Pilgrim quilt she made.

bags for the sales table. Governor General George Garmany was present and brought 175 attendees up to date on the upcoming 2020 events in Boston, Providence and Plymouth.

The Michigan Society will celebrate 2020 with two outstanding luncheon speakers. In May, member Kathleen Ripley Leo will speak about her ancestor, John Alden, who served his community for 43 years as the Governor's Assistant, 13 years as Treasurer of the colony and eight years as a member of the Council of War. Kathleen is an award-winning author, poet and educator, twice recognized by the Michigan Legislature as a poet-in-residence in Michigan schools. In November, the speaker will be the distinguished *Mayflower* author, researcher and historian Caleb Johnson.

MINNESOTA

At the annual Shallop Luncheon in Duluth, MN on August 17, 2019, the *Mayflower* Descendants in the State of Minnesota awarded $500 scholarships to two college-bound *Mayflower* descendants.

▲ Pictured left to right are Russ Trout, Minnesota Governor; William Andreas Knutson of Hermantown, MN recipient of 2019 MN Mayflower Scholarship; Lorrie Link, Deputy Governor General; and George P. Garmany, Jr., MD, GSMD Governor General.

Not pictured is Erika S. Swanson of Greenfield, MN, recipient of the 2019 MN Mayflower Scholarship. Congratulations to William and Erika!

MISSOURI

The Missouri Society went out with a bang in 2019. Its *Mayflower* Compact luncheon, held at Grbic's in St. Louis, was very well-attended. The program, "Thanksgiving in Plimoth," was led by Amy Anderson of the Brodbeck-Anderson family and told of their extended family's trip to Plimoth Plantation during Thanksgiving. Each family member in attendance (from pre-teen to octogenarian) covered different topics of the visit, offering tips and hints for those wishing to have as a wonderful experience as they did.

▲ *Mayflower* families pose together during the St. Louis Thanksgiving Day parade.

▲ The Brodbeck-Anderson family visited Plimoth Plantation during Thanksgiving 2019.

Also in November, three members portraying early Plymouth colony settlers visited five St. Louis area elementary schools to discuss what the Pilgrims' lives were like in the 1620s. The Society hopes to expand this outreach to children.

▲ *Replica float took Mayflower's* Society members by surprise.

The Society also participated in the St. Louis 35th annual Thanksgiving Day parade, covered on television by the local CBS affiliate. Some members and families handed out candy corn to the crowd or pulled the giant turkey balloon. The Society was surprised to see the *Mayflower* Moving Company's ¼ -scale copy of the ship. Attempts to bring it home were gently rebuffed, but the Society hopes to make further appearances with it.

2020 is shaping up to be a busy year for Missouri. The Society is producing a 400th Anniversary Commemorative Medal to fund its scholarship; and the Scholarship Committee, now with help from local history majors at a local university, will once again choose scholarship winners for a total of $3,000 in awards. The Society is also planning a gala in November to present an original nine-movement arrangement for string quartet by former Missouri Society Governor Dr. James Shoemaker that musically describes the travails, travels and arrival of the Separatists to our shores.

NORTH DAKOTA

▲ The North Dakota Society has 400th anniversary items for sale.

To commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the *Mayflower* voyage, the North Dakota Society's committee library project, headed by Connie Norheim, is delivering ridged wall posters with captions to seven of the larger libraries in the state to display for one month each. Committee members are also delivering or mailing to 29 libraries a ridged commemorative plaque, Mayflower Society brochures and a copy of the children's book *If I Were a Pilgrim: Our First Thanksgiving*, written and illustrated by Liz Rich.

The Society's Secretary, Vicki Held, also emailed letters on behalf of the Society to local libraries to use in their displays containing a list of interesting books to read for each of the school grades through high school, as well as a list for the entire family; the *Mayflower* Compact; a short *Mayflower* history 1620–2020; the names of the *Mayflower* passengers and crew; a children's coloring page of the *Mayflower* ship; and a copy of a page that contains *The Birth of The Americanism* signed as The *Mayflower* Compact at Cape Cod on November 11, 1620 (November 21, 1620 in our calendar).

The Society's Deputy Governor, Pam Younggren, is heading up the sale of four items designed by Dan Palmer – a kitchen towel, canvas tote bag, t-shirts and sweatshirts – in commemoration of the 400th Anniversary. For further information, contact Pam at: **pamyounggren@cableone.net.**

OHIO

The Ohio Society is excited to announce its event to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the *Mayflower* voyage on May 1-2, 2020 at the Polaris Hilton in Columbus, Ohio. D. Joshua Taylor, President of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, will be the keynote speaker. Each of his four presentations will focus on the *Mayflower* Pilgrims and their descendants. Registration is $150 which includes two receptions and two meals. Attendance is limited to 180 people. Contact Beth Anderson at **ohiomayflower2020@gmail.com.**

PENNSYLVANIA

SMDPA expects 2020 to be robust with activities for its members, starting with the annual meeting on April 18, 2020 that will be keynoted by Governor General George Garmany, Jr., MD.

In June, SMDPA is co-sponsoring and hosting the "Dreamride" charity cycling event from Philadelphia to Plymouth, MA with Dr. Maestas, Superintendent of Plymouth schools. This charity event raises money and awareness for the Society in a manner fitting our ancestors. Find out more at **www.dreamrideplymouth.org.**

The Society's Thanksgiving service and dinner in November will take place in historical St. David's Episcopal Church in Wayne, PA, which was built in 1715 and is still standing. This church has no electricity, so candles will illuminate the event. The church has been forever memorialized, as Longfellow included it in one of his poems. Dinner afterwards will include scholarship winners and presentation of the Distinguished Pilgrim Award.

Pennsylvania's two vibrant Colonies are busy finalizing their plans for their local members. Please check the Society's website for more events, details and updates: **https://sail1620.org.**

VIRGINIA

The Virginia Mayflower Society held its 70th Compact Day luncheon on November 23, 2019 at the Commonwealth Club in Richmond. The room was filled to capacity and the Society was honored to hear Governor General Garmany, Jr., report on the accomplishments of the General Society and the upcoming 2020 events. The evening before the meeting, Former Governor General Mildred Ramos hosted a dinner for Governor General George Garmany and the Virginia Society Officers.

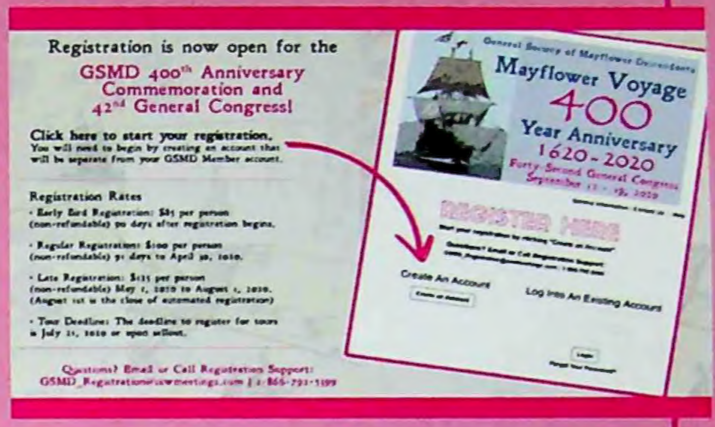
▲ GG Garmany with a Junior member of the Virginia Society, Ellen Maloney, granddaughter of the VA Society's Governor.

Sixty-nine new members joined the Virginia Society in 2019, bringing its membership to 795. At the end of the year, there were about 40 membership applications pending in Plymouth.

▲ Members attending the VA Society's Compact Day luncheon for the first time.

How to Register – An easy guide:

Have you registered for 2020? If not, please visit **www.TheMayflowerSociety.org** and the winter 2019 issue of The *Mayflower Quarterly Magazine* for full registration and event details. If you require assistance with your registration, please call 866.792.5399; hours: Monday thru Thursday, 8 AM to 6 PM EST, Friday 8 AM to 5 PM EST or **GSMD_Registration@sswmeetings.com**


Registration is now open for the
GSMD 400th Anniversary Commemoration and 42nd General Congress!
Click here to start your registration.
You will need to begin by creating an account that will be separate from your GSMD Member account.
Registration Rates
Mayflower Voyage
400
Year Anniversary
1620 - 2020
Create An Account
Log Into An Existing Account

Attendees must register through our online registration website where payment must be made by credit card. On-site payments during Congress week will not be accepted. Please do not mail registration requests.

REGISTRATION BADGES WILL BE REQUIRED FOR ENTRANCE AND PARTICIPATION IN ALL EVENTS. ALL EVENTS MUST BE PRE-PAID WHEN YOU REGISTER.

400th Anniversary Commemoration Schedule

Provincetown Events – Separate Registration Required

To register for PROVINCETOWN events, go to: **https://provincetown400.com/2020-events**

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2020
PROVINCETOWN

EVENING: The *Ship Mayflower* Gala at the Pilgrim Monument and Museum. A magical evening under the tent on the museum grounds will feature food, spirits and historical re-enactments. It is going to be a very special and fun black tie event, a great kick-off to Congress Week! GSMD members use code "GSMDGALA" to receive a $100 discount per ticket for this event.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2020
PROVINCETOWN

MORNING: Ferries leave from Plymouth and Boston for Provincetown to arrive by 11:00 AM

LATE MORNING: *Mayflower* Compact Re-enactment Ceremony in Provincetown Harbor featuring the *Ship Mayflower*. Ferries will surround the *Ship Mayflower* for descendants to view this ceremony. For those who prefer to remain landside, the ceremony may be viewed on the grounds of the Provincetown Museum. The event will include a memorial service and wreath laying in the harbor.

AFTERNOON: Luncheon and program at the base of the Pilgrim Monument.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2020
PROVINCETOWN

5:30 AM: Sunrise toast and bon voyage to the *Ship Mayflower* at the Provincetown Museum.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2020
BOSTON

Ferries available from Provincetown to Boston. Please note the last ferry back to Provincetown departs from Boston at 4:30 PM.

1:00 PM: Charter bus from Plymouth Hotel 1620 to Boston Park Plaza, Roundtrip $30 (advance registration required); bus departs Boston Park Plaza at 7:30 PM to Plymouth Hotel 1620.

The Official State House Salute to the 400th Anniversary:

$125 Ticket option #1: Pilgrim Progress & Governor's Reception – price does not include transportation.

4:00 PM: Boston Pilgrim Progress
GSMD members and guests are invited to participate in a Pilgrim Progress through the Boston Public Garden and Boston Common, and up Beacon Hill to the Massachusetts State House steps. Participants will meet at the Boston Park Plaza Hotel, where special changing rooms have been reserved, no later than 3:00 PM to allow time to change into your Pilgrim attire. This will be a historic Pilgrim Progress as it is the first of its kind to ever happen in Boston. (Participants must be in Pilgrim attire and must be able to walk at least one mile, including up Beacon Hill.) This is a limited capacity event. *Not wheelchair accessible.*

$125 Ticket option #2: Governor's Reception – price does not include transportation.

5:00 PM - 7:00 PM: Governor's Reception and Private Viewing of the Bradford Journal, immediately following a ceremony on the steps of the Massachusetts State House. GSMD members and guests, and NEHGS members and guests will be invited into the Hall of Flags for a private and exclusive viewing of the original journal of William Bradford and a cocktail reception. State House security practices will be in place for this event. *Wheelchair accessible.*

EVENING: Charter buses will return to Plymouth Hotel 1620.

Dead of Night Ghost Walking Lantern Tours:
$20.00 (SOLD OUT)
Three tours are available and begin in fifteen-minute intervals. Dead of Night Lantern Tours gather in the Hotel 1620 Front Lobby. *Not wheelchair accessible.*
3 Tours:
7:15 PM - 8:45, PM 7:30 PM - 9:00 PM, 7:45 PM - 9:15 PM

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2020
PLYMOUTH

All day: Executive Committee Meeting:
Hotel 1620. Includes lunch. EC members only.

8:00 AM - 5:00 PM: Credentials Pick-up:
Hotel 1620 Lobby.
Insignia & GSMD Store Sales, Exhibitors Showcase:
Hotel 1620.

8:00 AM - 4:15 PM: Cranberry Bog Tour ~ Cape Cod Canal Cruise with Lunch: $115.00 (SOLD OUT)
Bus departs from the rear of Hotel 1620.
Not wheelchair accessible.

10:30 AM: All Aboard: Pilgrim Belle Cruise with Boxed Lunch: $65.00 (limited capacity).
Cruise duration: 11:00 AM - 1:00 PM. Cruise departs from the dock at the end of the pier on Water Street.
Limited wheelchair access – seating on first deck only.

Walking Tours of Plymouth by Jenney Museum:
(SOLD OUT)
Adult: $12.50, Child: (6-17) $6.50, Under 5: Free
Tours begin at the Jenney Museum, 48 Summer St.;
1620-2020 Discover Plymouth's History –
this is a faith-based tour. *Not wheelchair accessible.*
3 Tours:
9:30 AM - 11:00 AM, 1:00 PM - 2:30 PM, 3:00 PM - 4:30 PM

6:00 PM - 7:00 PM: GENERAL BOARD OF ASSISTANTS MEETING: National Pilgrim Memorial Meetinghouse. *Wheelchair accessible.*

IMPORTANT: All GSMD Officers, Former Governors General, Former Assistant Governors General, DGGs and AGs should be present as these. Officers will be seated for this GBOA Meeting and Congress.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2020
PLYMOUTH

8:00 AM - 12:00 PM: Credentials Pick-up: Hotel 1620 Lobby.
Insignia & GSMD Store Sales, Exhibitors Showcase: Hotel 1620.

8:00 AM: Church Service at Plimoth Plantation (SOLD OUT)
The Church Service at the Fort is a private event for GSMD only. Special for 2020, to accommodate a larger number of attendees, the service will be held outside the Fort. Members should wait at the ticket area; the group will proceed together following the drummer to begin the event. Note that Plimoth Plantation is closed until later in the day. Please be respectful and visit during normal operating hours. Only the gift shop will be open after the service.

10:00 AM: Massachusetts Mayflower Society's Naturalization Ceremony at Memorial Hall.

1:00 PM: Pilgrim Progress: Please arrive no later than 12:30 PM to allow time to assemble at the Mayflower Society House. The progress then proceeds to Cole's Hill and to the Town Square, and will be immediately followed by Opening Ceremonies for Congress. Pilgrim attire required for Pilgrim Progress. Members in street clothes may follow at the end of the Progress.

Opening Ceremonies will be held in Town Square with seating available for those unable to stand at the Church of the Pilgrimage. *Wheelchair accessible.*

Following Opening Ceremonies:
Mayflower Garden Reception: $15.00

Reception at the Colonial Revival Gardens of the Mayflower Society House featuring the dedication of the NEW William Bradford Monument. Reservations are REQUIRED and badges will be required to enter. Visitor parking will not be available at the Mayflower Society Campus during Congress week.

Dead of Night Ghost Walking Lantern Tours: $20.00 (limited capacity). (SOLD OUT)
3 tours are available and begin in fifteen-minute intervals. Dead of Night Lantern Tours gather in the Hotel 1620 Front Lobby. *Not wheelchair accessible.*
3 Tours:
7:15 PM - 8:45 PM, 7:30 PM - 9:00 PM, 7:45 PM - 9:15 PM

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 2020
PLYMOUTH

NOTE: If you are an officer attending Congress, do not book a tour this day.

7:30 AM - 8:30 AM: Credentials Pick-up: Hotel 1620 Lobby.

9:00 AM - 4:00 PM: Governance Day 1
First Business Session of General Congress.
NEW LOCATION: Plymouth Memorial Hall, 83 Court Street. Assigned seating for delegates. Reservations and name badges are REQUIRED for admittance due to security. *Wheelchair accessible.*

8:00 AM - 4:15 PM: Lexington - Concord Orchard House Tour with Boxed Lunch: $115.00 (limited capacity). Bus departs from the rear of Hotel 1620. *Not wheelchair accessible.*

8:00 AM - 4:15 PM: JFK Museum in Hyannis and the Cape Cod Railroad Tour with Boxed Lunch: $130.00 (limited capacity). Bus departs from the rear of Hotel 1620. *Not wheelchair accessible.*

6:15 PM: Pilgrim Belle SUNSET Cruise: $45.00 (SOLD OUT) Cruise Duration: 6:45 PM - 8:45 PM; Cruise departs from the dock at the end of the pier on Water Street. *Limited wheelchair access – seating on first deck only.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2020
PLYMOUTH

NOTE: If you are an officer attending Congress, do not book a tour this day.

9:00 AM - 4:00 PM: Governance Day 2
Second Business Session of General Congress:
NEW LOCATION: Plymouth Memorial Hall, 83 Court Street. Assigned seating for delegates.
Wheelchair accessible.

During the afternoon session, the election of new General Society of Mayflower Descendants Officers will be held for the General Society of Mayflower Descendants for the 2020-2023 administration. Reservations and name badges are REQUIRED for admittance due to security.

10:30 AM: Pilgrim Belle Cruise with Boxed Lunch: $65.00 (limited capacity).
Limited wheelchair access – seating on first deck only.

Cruise Duration: 11:00 AM – 1:00 PM, cruise departs from the dock at the end of the pier on Water Street.

7:00 PM – 10:00 PM: 400th Anniversary Gala: $135.00 Plymouth Memorial Hall, 83 Court Street.
Wheelchair accessible.
Memorial Hall will be transformed with elegant lighting,

draping and décor for this black tie event. A formal receiving line of officers will welcome you and you will enjoy hors d'oeuvres, fine food stations, desserts, dancing and a variety of entertainers at this event. An installation ceremony of newly elected officers will be held during the gala. It will be the pinnacle event of Congress and, indeed, a night to remember for a lifetime! (Cash bar.)

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2020
PLYMOUTH

9:00 AM – 10:30 AM: New Executive Committee Meeting (Hotel 1620). Newly elected EC Officers are expected to attend this first meeting.

Daytime: 1620 Club Tour (by invitation only, an exclusive thank you to 1620 members).

Evening: 1620 Club Dinner & Pilgrim Academic Award Presentation (by invitation only).

REGISTRATION BADGES ARE REQUIRED FOR ALL EVENTS ~ NO EXCEPTIONS

For your safety and the safety of others, entry to each event is by electronic badge scanners. Registration badges are required for entry – no exceptions. Scanners will only be available for a limited time at the beginning of an event. Please be prompt. Late arrivals may not be permitted entry.

TRANSPORTATION INFORMATION

TO PURCHASE TICKETS FOR THE FERRIES:

BOSTON TO PROVINCETOWN:
https://baystatecruisecompany.com

PLYMOUTH TO PROVINCETOWN:
https://captjohn.com/

TROLLIES IN AND AROUND PLYMOUTH CENTER:
GSMD will be offering complimentary trollies, available to those with registration badges only. This service is to benefit those with mobility or walking issues due to the expanded venue for this Congress.

THINGS TO SEE AND DO AROUND PLYMOUTH

https://www.seeplymouth.com/things-to-do

https://www.seeplymouth.com/events/month/2020-09

https://www.seeplymouth.com/contact

ACCOMMODATIONS

Area Hotel Accommodations remain available. Please visit the GSMD website for additional information for availability.

Congress 2020

Thursday, September 17 and Friday, September 18, 2020, 9:00 am-4:00 pm

BYLAWS, DELEGATES and ELECTIONS

Bylaw changes can be voted on only at Congress, by a vote of the representatives of the Member Societies present. In order for an amendment to pass, there must be a two-thirds majority, with each Society entitled to one vote.

Delegates: In addition to their DGG and AG, each Member Society sends delegates to Congress to represent their Society. Each Society is entitled to one delegate for every fifty members or majority fraction thereof, with a minimum of three delegates allowed.

The number of delegates is determined on the basis of a Member Society's membership, including junior life members, as of July first of the year in which Congress is held. The Secretary of each Society must notify the Secretary General of the membership count no later than July 15, 2020.

Elections: The election of General Society Officers is held at the end of the second day of Congress. Each Member Society is entitled to one electoral vote for every two hundred members or fraction thereof. The total electoral vote of any Society will not be more than five electoral votes or less than one electoral vote. A Member Society may divide their electoral votes if they so choose.

2020 General Board of Assistants Meeting

Tuesday, September 15, 2020, 6:00 - 7:00 pm, National Memorial Meetinghouse

Please remind your Society DGG and AG to register and attend the GBOA meeting to be seated for GBOA and Congress. The Meetinghouse has limited seating and security will be enforced for the safety of all. Therefore, registration is required, and badges will be scanned at entry.

It is at this meeting that the roll call is taken and the General Society officers, including the DGGs and AGs, are seated for this meeting and for Congress. If an officer is not present he/she will be recorded as absent.

One Member's Journey

by Maureen W. Carlson

In October 2018, after more than a 30-year break, I decided to dabble in genealogy once again, this time via the internet. I found a website that aided my impossible Mantle family line. As I got to a man by the name of Edward Fuller, I noticed that he was buried at Cole's cemetery in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Curious to know if that cemetery might still be in existence, I did some research. I couldn't believe what I was reading, and soon came to the realization that I was descended from a Pilgrim who came to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

Time for a crash course in history! I quickly found and joined the *Mayflower Pilgrim Descendants* Facebook group. I was warmly greeted by Elizabeth Needham Ballard, who asked me to show my proposed lineage so she could check it in the *Silver Books*. While I'm frantically searching for "What in the world are *Silver Books*?" and before I could even respond with my line, Elizabeth had already posted what she found: my entire line from Edward Fuller, who I affectionately refer to as Grandpa Eddy, down to me! My jaw dropped! "So I'm official?!" Hold on...not quite yet! And my journey begins...

I cannot begin to describe the support and help I have received from Elizabeth, not to mention her always-ready encouragement as needed. I could not have done this journey without her! She is truly so knowledgeable and such an incredible person, new friend and cousin.

On top of that, Elizabeth recommended I do this process through the Mayflower Society in Connecticut (where I live) and to request the help of CT Historian Marjorie "Midge" Hurtuk. I don't know how I got so lucky to have had these two amazing ladies on my team, but I am so grateful! Midge made this process so streamlined and easy, and handled every step so promptly and with great direction. Words just don't seem adequate to express my appreciation!

I'd be remiss if I didn't acknowledge the two other key players on my journey. First, the very kind and generous Colleen, a member of the *Mayflower Pilgrim Descendants* Facebook group who helped obtain the difficult initial New York certificates. And last but not least, my daughter, Alicia, who provided daily encouragement and listened to me go on and on about this wonderful experience.

In anticipation of my approval to the GSMD, I spent the year exploring my hopeful roots. In June 2019, my daughter and son-in-law took me to Italy to see where my mother's parents were born. He wanted to see London first. Ironically, at this point, I didn't even know of my English roots. Whew – found out just in time! I started off our European trip on the right foot, only because I fell and fractured my left foot on our very first day out in London. Yay, me! But nothing was going to stop me from exploring my roots. As Elizabeth said, my true Pilgrim spirit emerged: never give up, get it done against all odds, and on we went! When I found out we were descended from the Fullers, we decided to see Rotherhithe, since we would be in that area. We ate at the Mayflower Pub and my daughter (pictured) and I signed the descendants' book. It was such an amazing feeling to be there where the *Mayflower* set sail!

To complete my journey, I told my husband that I needed to see where they landed. So, in September 2019, we started our road trip from the

California coast to Plymouth Harbor. Still wearing my boot, I limped across Burial Hill, visited the Pilgrim Sarcophagus where Edward and Mrs. Fuller are buried, the Pilgrim Museum and Plimoth Plantation. The Mayflower Society headquarters was closed that day, but I wasn't official yet, anyway; so now I need to go back!

On October 31, 2019, I received word that my application had been accepted. One year later, and I am now officially OFFICIAL! I couldn't be prouder to say that I am a member of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants; the 11th great-granddaughter of the Pilgrims, Edward Fuller and Mrs. Fuller.

In November 2019, I was honored to help decorate "The Voyage of Hope – 1620" float that appeared in the 131st Rose Parade® I also attended the parade along with other *Mayflower* descendants to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the voyage of the *Mayflower*.

Maureen W. "Wendy" Carlson is a member of the Connecticut Mayflower Society. She and her sister, Deanna, have been doing family research for 40 years. She is retired and lives in California.

Godly Ignition circa 1607: Robinson's & Brewster's Nottinghamshire Courages[1]

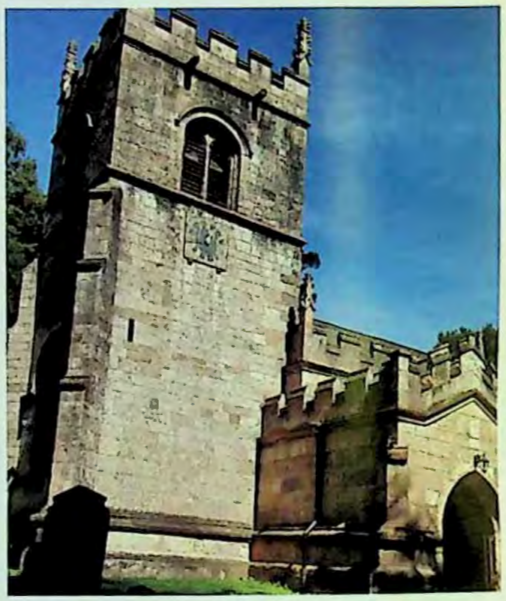
by J. Michel Marcoux

Unlike most other first New World settlers, many *Mayflower* Pilgrims determined to live according to what they understood to be the values of the earliest Christians. The religious -- their word was "godly" - motivation of such ministers and laymen, influential and ordinary, led to their decisions to separate from the Church of England and their early participation in the 1620-40 Atlantic migrations of English people seeking a godlier society.[2] Their religion gave them bravery and strength to accomplish dangerous adventures in and away from old England.

Particularly, the joint actions of two individuals, John Robinson and William Brewster, at a certain place and time, Nottinghamshire about and after 1607, expressed the Pilgrims' religious convictions for the monition today of any unaccustomed to such piety. Theologian Robinson, who knew what to do and why (without royal permission, to flee Jacobean England religious persecution and plant a separate congregation[3] elsewhere) teamed fortuitously with former Elizabethan emissary Brewster, who knew where to go (Holland) and whom to see there (his past Dutch diplomatic acquaintances). Their religious leadership continued in Holland and a dozen years later Robinson and Brewster helped conceive the *Mayflower* Pilgrim expedition and guide it to colonize a Plymouth Plantation.

Understanding the Pilgrims' early 17th century covenantal trust in God puts in perspective any mistaken tendency to see their achievements as secular actions detracting from their religious beliefs. An example of such secularization would be to exaggerate the importance of their November 1620 shipboard penning of *Mayflower* Compact sentences as a model for United States founding documents over a century and a half later. For instance, in one historian's view, the Compact, as a "document many consider to mark the beginning of what would one day be called the United States" for which Robinson had anticipated the need, "ranks with the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution as a seminal American text."[4] Another writer labels the Compact one of the "great foundational documents in the history of what became the United States of America..."[5] And likewise, a different scholar says the Compact, including many of Robinson's suggestions, "has a whisper of the contractual government enunciated in the 4 July 1776 Declaration of Independence..."[6]

However, the *Mayflower* Compact was an "undertaking grounded in the covenant tradition of Separatist theology," exemplifying one experiment in representative government among others, and constituting "background" for later political developments in the English colonies.[7] The Compact simply was an "effort to unite



▲ All Saints Church, Babworth

and direct to the public good the energies of the [Plymouth] colony's diverse population...the pious from Scrooby and Leiden and the profane from London and Southampton", expressing the "passion of the leaders finally to realize their pious hopes for the creation of a truly Christian community..."[8] Apart from documenting the inclusive early Plymouth community, the Compact's purported role leading to the founding documents of the United States has been "clearly" asserted, but without supporting granulation.[9] Significantly, Robinson must not be credited with a "spiritual pedigree more worthy of a founder of American civilization...[leading to] an uncritical adulation of [him] as the advocate of liberalism, individualism, religious toleration, democracy, etc.," and thereby detaching him

from the separatist tradition that preceded him and minimizing or even denying his indebtedness to Calvinist theology.[10] In later centuries, moreover, an "imagining" of the Pilgrims and especially the Compact as "crucial sources of a democratic America" in order "magically" to transform "Leiden Separatists into a fabled identity as 'fathers' or 'founders' of the new American nation" has sought, "impervious to criticism," to mythologize them to provide a genealogy for a new,progressive America.[11]

I. Nottinghamshire congregational beliefs introduced.

Prior to the Leiden years in Holland that led to the *Mayflower* voyage into history, a gospel fellowship congregation gathered from English towns and villages in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, at the meeting of their borders near Retford. Those people effectively were refugees from 16th century European religious upheavals that had resounded even into the English countryside. In other words, "England...was living on the slopes of a European volcano.... [i.e., the century long atrocious religious conflict culminating in the terrible Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and] it could not avoid the seismic shocks..."[12] Historian William Bradford reports that the congregation's leaders included,

...Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his paines and dilligens had done much good, and under god had ben a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who affterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord tooke him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an Elder of the church and lived with them till old age.[13]

Faced with increasing Church of England hostility to their religious beliefs, those individuals nevertheless determined to associate at All Saints' Church, Babworth and its environs in northeast Nottinghamshire. One historian notes: "[I]n that [Nottinghamshire] area there had been for some years a group of both ministers [Clifton] and others [Brewster] who had been in trouble with the authorities for their Puritanism."[14] After researching church court records, another scholar also reports that the separatists were not persecuted as dissidents by ecclesiastical authorities "at all times."[15] Their fellowship grew intense, especially a theological kinship between two University of Cambridge-educated men, Robinson and Brewster, who eventually contributed significantly to launching the *Mayflower* Pilgrim odyssey.[16]

Inwardly, their group of largely apolitical, rural people was inspired to consider the simplifications and purifications of worship that they felt were required by scripture to duplicate the earliest, apostolic Christian communities. Their hope was that "[i]n their scattered congregations the [separatist] churches of God had at last recovered their ancient purity and their primitive order, liberty, and beauty."[17] Bailyn comments that: "Almost all who came together to pray, to profess their convictions, and to debate the nature of the true church were ordinary farmers and artisans from the surrounding villages who were inflamed with the desire to worship..." according to gospel simplicity.[18]

Outwardly, they were empowered with the gumption to organize their worship however and wherever the Holy Spirit took them, even if that separated them from their Church of England. Thus, "[t]hey shared much with the larger Puritan reform movement within the Church of England that was sweeping across England, but pressed on further, to deny any validity in the Episcopal establishment and to claim that their own small, independent congregation was the correct model of Christian organization. The demands on their members were simple—only a profession of faith, commitment to the covenant that bound the group together, and behavior appropriate for professing Christians."[19]

II. Nottinghamshire places.

Dating from the 15th century in part, Babworth Church stood, and today remains, fewer than ten miles south of Brewster's village of Scrooby, and north of Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire. In the early 17th century, the Church adjoined the heavily trafficked Great North Road from London to Edinburgh, crossing the East Midlands as a grassy track. Plantagenet King John (1199-1216) had decreed its width, with adjoining trees and shrubbery pruned back to deter highwaymen.

Richard Clifton led the congregation. John Robinson assisted him from about 1607. Both eventually separated from the Church of England on reformative grounds. Such separatism was never a particularly common path for reform, except perhaps for the period of

reformer disappointment after the 1604 Hampton Court Conference among King James I, his Church of England prelates, and merely moderate Church reformers.[20] William Brewster had returned from Queen Elizabeth I's London-centered Court to his father's large, medieval home nearby at Scrooby, where he wed and started a family with his wife Mary. He succeeded his father there as the Archbishop of York's bailiff, receiver and postmaster. For centuries Scrooby Manor, of which little remains today, had functioned as an imposing waystation to host royalty and senior government and church officials traveling on the Great North Road. Likely accompanied often by his young mentee William Bradford, Brewster commuted from his home south on that highway, perhaps always on foot, to hear the preaching at Babworth Church.

After Clifton lost his clerical position at Babworth, the congregation assembled at Brewster's Scrooby Manor. Robinson arrived and became a central figure among those Babworth/Scrooby congregants. Clifton, Robinson, and Brewster next led many of their families to Holland, also including the orphaned Bradford. Brewster and Bradford ultimately sailed with part of the congregation on the *Mayflower* across the Atlantic to Plymouth, where the mature Bradford became Colony Governor and its historian. Those various efforts to live their lives, based on religious convictions about a covenant-keeping God, were facilitated by their complementary abilities and experiences, which first had meshed within the Babworth/ Scrooby congregation.

▲ Babworth/Scrooby congregation. Babworth Interior, Courtesy of Mr. & Mrs. K.N.B. Dunlop

III. Clifton: A church of reform preacher to the East Midlands.

Son of a Nottinghamshire family dating from the 11th century, Richard Clifton was born in 1553. In 1586, he continued his country parson ministry at Babworth. A licensed Church of England priest, Clifton took holy orders in the years of cutting edge, Elizabethan theological thinking on church reformation at Cambridge. Many have assumed and written that he matriculated there,[21] however, there appears to be no concrete record of a Clifton Cambridge education.[22] Indeed, Marchant writes that Clifton owes his place in history solely to his act of separation, rather than to scholarship.[23]

Such Cambridge reformative scholarship included the 1560s-70s work of St. John's College and Trinity College fellow Thomas Cartwright.[24] Cartwright and other early reformers applied a spiritual calculus to questions of ecclesiastical abuses, and to the theology of justification and of the Eucharist.[25] Indeed, "...in 1570, with his Cambridge lectures which 'marked a new point of departure in the history of Puritanism,' Thomas Cartwright...applied it [a spiritual calculus of reform] to the whole question of Church government" advocating, among other things, suppression of the names and functions of Archbishops and Bishops.[26] Cartwright's thinking helped let the separatist genie out of the Church of England bottle early in the 17th century.[27] Brewster's eventual 1618 Leiden publication of Cartwright's presbyterian response over three decades before to a 1582 New Testament English translation by exiled Catholics in Reims, France, exemplifies intellectual networking among the godly over distance and time.[28]

By the 1590s, Clifton preached reform, promoting a non-hierarchical, congregationalist, biblically based church community. After 1603, when King James succeeded Queen Elizabeth, he fell into trouble with ecclesiastical superiors, was deprived of his living by the civil Chancery Court of equity, and lost his position at Babworth in 1605 on grounds of non-conformity with the Church of England.[29] Accepting Brewster's invitation to Scrooby Manor, Clifton began to meet there in secret with his former Babworth congregation.[30] Such meetings of the godly were not numerous, but also not unique: separatist groups like the Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire Pilgrims in the early 17th century responded to persecution or to the deprivation of their clerical leadership as "voluntarist groups which already, before their separation, seem to have possessed some identity as gathered companies within the establishment....[and] partly as a consequence of the frustration of puritan hopes of a further reformation of the parish churches, the godly were gathering in increasing numbers in non-parochial meetings [e.g., at Scrooby Manor], whether of people from more than one community drawn out of their parishes to various preaching occasions, or of semi-separatist cells within the community."[31] Clifton fled to Holland with the Babworth/ Scrooby congregation in 1608 and continued his reformative preaching there. In Arber's view: "When the Rev. John Clyfton declined to migrate to Leyden, and threw

▲ Scrooby Manor Remnant

in his lot with the Ancient exiled Church at Amsterdam [another religious reformative group]; then it was, in 1609, and not earlier, that the Rev. John Robinson became the Leader of the Pilgrim Fathers; and so remained until his death in 1625."[32] Clifton died and was buried in Amsterdam in 1616. For about twenty years, Clifton had inspired many by his discussions of Bible texts from his Babworth Church pulpit and elsewhere, including neighbor congregants Brewster and Bradford in the pews.

IV. Robinson: An intellectually gifted, charismatic church reformer.

A graduate in holy orders, fellow, and dean of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the future Pilgrim Pastor John Robinson was born around 1575, also in Nottinghamshire in the parish of Sturton-le-Steeple. A generation younger than Clifton, and theologically able, he assisted with the congregation from about 1607 at Brewster's Scrooby Manor.[33] Then came Holland: "So affter they had continued togeither aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth, in one place, or other, exercising the worship of God amongst them selves...they resolved to get over into Holland....Which was in the year 1607 and 1608..."[34]

Along with Robert Browne, who also was a Corpus Christi student, and a separatist early in his own ministry, Robinson's teachings and practices indirectly helped enable the Congregational Church movement.[35] After arrival in Holland, he moved with the Babworth/Scrooby congregation first to Amsterdam, and then later traveled with them to Leiden, serving as the ordained religious leader for that community.

"[C]ut from a different cloth" and "[a]lways an orthodox Calvinist," Robinson's reflections on the nature of the church became the "benchmark of a congregation-centered polity he discussed with several nonconforming but not Separatist ministers who arrived in the Netherlands after having gotten into trouble in England."[36] For Robinson, ecclesiological or church science "edification" in ministry (i.e., preaching to set forth God's will from God's biblical word for the edification of hearers) was both the "most reliable evidence congregations could use in admitting persons to the covenant," and impossible to accomplish in a state church closely connected with the civil state and using a corrupt liturgy.[37]

The Babworth/Scrooby congregation leadership sought a covenantal relationship with God built on the Bible's teachings, particularly the New Testament. Bangs describes the strength of their beliefs thus, "... what they were doing they dared to compare with the grand occasions of providential history found in the Bible, and they were unashamed to believe that the example of their covenanted life had the strength to shake the habits of earthly society."[38] As one of them wrote: "The *godly* I would have to gather themselves together and combine in a spiritual fellowship apart from the vain world and wicked therein, abandoning all man's inventions, worshiping God only by his Word and Graces, choosing their own *Ministers*..."[39]

Members of their congregation were willing to separate from the world, yet they maintained themselves as Queen Elizabeth's and then King James' true subjects. Determined to redefine the visible church exclusively as a covenanted congregation, and to protect God's sovereignty from encroachments of human autonomy by means of an election doctrine (whereby irresistible grace calls the elect to salvation), they rejected the tyrannous rule of bishops over godly preachers such as them and over congregations such as theirs, church festivals not found in biblical texts and other non-canonical holidays, over-rich clerical garments, and liturgies and policies present and past, e.g., saintly relics, Christ's real presence in the Communion, ornate rood lofts architecture, and the Church of Rome's indulgences regime targeted by Martin Luther a century earlier.[40] Personal certainty of grace became a Protestant catchword, dispelling the anxiety that motivated late medieval Catholicism's "almost industrial 'ritual performance' " including indulgences (denominated in hundreds of thousands of years), many votive masses, and complex, protracted, and repeated cycles of prayers.[41] Also, "[o]nce the popes, the councils, and the [Church] fathers had all been categorized as merely human authorities...the bare text of scripture was all that was left."[42] Calvinists became the hard center of British theological dissent, typically looking to a "power dwelling in the text of the Bible, intuitively convincing the reader and explaining to him what he reads."[43]

The congregation continued to rely on Robinson's and Brewster's leadership as the Pilgrims' dozen years in Holland ended. Enabled by the congregation's "mutuall consente and covenante," Robinson and Brewster each were to lead an "absolute church of them selve," with one to stay in Leiden and one to cross the Atlantic.[44] Clifton had been dead for some four years at the time of the 1620 voyage. Bradford had a young family and was about 30 years old. Their ordained Pastor Robinson remained with the Leiden

▲ St. Helena Church, Austerfield

congregation majority of around 200 people, intending to sail to the New World as soon as they could. Their un-ordained Elder Brewster served those others who sailed on the *Mayflower*, but he could not administer the sacraments.

In the Plymouth Colony's early years, Brewster, Bradford and other Pilgrim congregation leaders sought with mixed results to heed Robinson's trans-Atlantic, written pastoral guidance for them, praising their successes and admonishing their shortcomings. Guided on site spiritually by Brewster, the early (and later) Plymouth community was led temporally by Bradford. By then, Robinson had known both those men for nearly two decades since their first Scrooby Manor association. Robinson died in Leiden in 1625 before he could reunite with his New World congregants.

V. Brewster & Bradford: Plymouth Plantation spiritual and temporal leaders.

Over a dozen years younger than Clifton, Brewster was born about 1566, which was the same year when Mary, Queen of Scots gave birth in Edinburgh Castle to England's future first Stuart, King James. Born about 1590 very near Scrooby in the still smaller hamlet of Austerfield, the younger Bradford was mentored by Brewster during and after their Babworth Church years together.

Eventually to make the Atlantic crossing as the only University-educated *Mayflower* passenger, Brewster began his Cambridge studies at Peterhouse in 1580. Religious influences on him could have included Cambridge lectures such as those on the Ten Commandments given by Lancelot Andrewes at Pembroke College in the 1580s,[45] or the writings of Cambridge graduates such as Robert Browne's 1582 *A Treatise of Reformation Without Tarrying For Any* [i.e., any ecclesiastical power exercised through a Chancery Court of equity], which treatise argued that civil magistrates lacked authority over the church.[46] Browne also emphasized that small-scale congregations should be organized for the "worthy" around a covenant requiring those who accepted it to keep and seek agreement under Christian "lawes & government."[47]

Brewster would demonstrate a "singuler good gift in prayer... in ripping up the hart and conscience before God."[48] Brewster's preaching as a layman impressed contemporaries.[49] His protégé Bradford was self-taught. An autodidact to his final years in Plymouth, Bradford then taught himself Hebrew in order to improve his comprehension of God's written Word.

Brewster previously had worked as a young attendant at the London Court operated by Queen Elizabeth's principal officers, including William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; and Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham. Leicester was one of the most important Puritan supporters in Elizabeth's government.[50] In the 1580s, Brewster performed significant diplomatic staff work in both England and Holland for Walsingham's chief subordinate (and Elizabeth's additional Secretary of State) Sir William Davison.[51] Receptive to church reform, those men nevertheless were mindful of their Queen's longstanding via media religious compromise between Calvinistic Geneva and Papal Rome.[52] Furthermore, "... Queen Elizabeth was determined to defend her idiosyncratic religious settlement of 1559 without any further progress towards the best Reformed Churches.... [However, among] the younger generation of Protestant clergy and gentry now emerging from the universities, many were frustrated by the [Queen's recruited] bishops' unwillingness to stand for change."[53] At opposite extremes, Elizabeth's Protestant Church of England legitimacy was denied both by English Catholics and also by more daring Protestants such as Robert Browne."[54] Anderson concludes that with the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement's compromises in the parliamentary Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity the Queen nevertheless had "reached the end of her desire for reform...").[55] Brewster thus brought such past eyewitness of complex religious sensitivities to his Babworth/ Scrooby congregation association with Robinson.

Brewster had served Queen Elizabeth's regime during perilous times, including the mid-1580s English support for the Dutch against the Spanish when as a member of the Queen's Secretary Davison's embassy, Brewster communicated directly with Dutch leaders in Holland. Moreover, in 1587 Davison had met with the Queen and carried away her signed warrant, soon enforced, to execute her prisoner of 19 years, King James' mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth then denounced her own warrant order and scapegoated Brewster's patron Davison (who also leaned toward reform). That support for the Dutch and that royal execution combined to precipitate the spectacular but nevertheless unsuccessful 1588 Spanish naval Armada attack on the Protestant

English Queen and her archipelagic country by the world's most powerful monarch, Catholic King Philip II. Brewster thereafter left London and, with Davison writing letters in support, returned north to Nottinghamshire to succeed his father and take charge at Scrooby Manor about 1589 or shortly thereafter.

About 1607, Brewster, likely appreciating Robinson's intellect and vision, could reach out to his Dutch diplomatic acquaintances from the 1580s to ease the Babworth/Scrooby congregation's arrival in Holland after their illegal escape from England. In other words, theologian Robinson (who knew what to do and why: flee King James' officials and build a congregation of reform elsewhere) worked hand-in-glove with former politician and diplomat Brewster (who knew to go to Holland, and whom to see there). The written record of their working relationship includes Bradford's Plymouth history, which names Robinson and Brewster as "principall [congregational] members...come over" to Holland and thinking on such things "as were necessarie for their setling, and best ordering of the church affairs" there.[56] To foster support for an Atlantic voyage, Robinson's and Brewster's jointly written letters and notes include Articles carefully composed by 1617 to try to relate their Leiden congregation reformative beliefs as satisfactorily as they could to Church of England orthodoxy: E.g., "[W]ee desyer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve the unity of the speritt with all that feare God, to have peace with all men what in us lyeth and wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any."[57]

Bradford, with his precocious religiosity, could observe Clifton's, Robinson's and Brewster's various abilities (and they his) as he matured during the years before the Mayflower sailed.[58] Likely, the young Bradford intimated the strengths of character and intellect that later led to his repeated elections as Plimoth Plantation Governor and enabled him to conceive and write his 17th century American colonial history masterpiece.[59] Bailyn understands Bradford's talents thus: "[N]o one on board the *Mayflower* could have known that he had a heightened consciousness of the drama in which they were involved, the imagination to cast it all as a central passage in Christian history, and the literary capacity to express their fortunes as a heroic epic, in biblical cadences."[60]

VI. Nottinghamshire godly courages in over 400-year retrospection.

In the northeast corner of England's East Midlands countryside, Clifton, Robinson, Brewster, and Bradford understood their Babworth/Scrooby 1607-08 association as a godly influence by reformative clerics on receptive congregants. Hall characterizes their reasons for leaving the state church to have included the regulative principle (or the authority of the biblical word), which "guided their reading of Scripture as a description of what Christ 'hath commanded,' to which they added a yearning for the company of 'Christ's faithful and obedient servants.' "[61] That was enough for Robinson and Brewster very early in the 17th century courageously to seek to reorganize their small church congregation elsewhere.

As things turned out, their religious fellowship led to events impossible for them to imagine. One was the arrival of the much more numerous Puritan Winthrop Fleet in 1630 at Massachusetts Bay after its leaders had observed the Pilgrims' separatist planting of men and women at Plymouth ten years earlier along what was to become the coast of a new England. But the Pilgrims paid such developments little mind, except as occasions to emphasize their covenantal trust in a providential God working His Will in their lives. Bradford's often quoted words pointedly praise only God – not Bradford's own Plymouth Pilgrims -- for John Winthrop's later arrival in the *Arabella* accompanied by ten other ships: "Thus out of smalle beginings greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle [e.g., Plymouth] may light a thousand [e.g., the Winthrop Fleet], so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sorte to our whole nation; let the glorious name of Jehova have all the praise."[62]

One historian mistakenly labels the 1630 Winthrop Fleet as the "*Mayflower* Puritans," while also characterizing the 1620 *Mayflower* Pilgrims' cause as an "explosive" religious and political mixture by which they supposedly were "ready for wholesale change, perhaps even for confrontation."[63] However, such a view over politicizes Pilgrim beliefs. Instead, "[m]ost of those people based their decision to migrate on religious grounds. Although the proximate cause of this decision was based on events happening in England during the 1620s and 1630s, there were much deeper causes reaching back a full century to the beginning of the English Reformation."[64] The Pilgrims considered their successful perseverance through danger, suffering, and death as the "working of God's favorable Providence.... attesting to God's preservation of His people."[65]

The Pilgrim mindset derived in significant part from their leaders' first, fruitful Nottinghamshire association. Over four hundred years later, their cross-Atlantic separatist quest should be understood, not as politically explosive, but as apostolical and New Testament primitive in that they "were fundamentally concerned with *restitution* rather than *reformation*....

they were about nothing less than the complete recovery of pristine Christianity."[66] From Babworth Church and Scrooby Manor onward, the Pilgrims' relative lack of concern with other-than-godly matters gave them vigor both to adhere to their biblically-centered theology and, against heavy odds, to persist in their congregational formations with Robinson and Brewster as Pastor and Elder, respectively: first in Nottinghamshire (at Babworth and Scrooby where Clifton led pastorally), next in Holland (at Leiden), and then in the New World (at Plymouth). Their group's moral stoutness is praised thus:

[They] eschewed all worldliness, self-glory, and the predatory pursuit of wealth and made their main purpose in life the seeking [of] the kingdom of heaven and its rewards. To such a people the things of this world were of no more than temporary account, and nothing held larger place in their thoughts than did their sense of responsibility to God, the community, and each other. In their simplicity and humble-mindedness they had no other aim than to live decently and righteously and in accord with what they believed to be God's purpose in directing their course.[67]

Clifton died in 1616 and Robinson in 1625, both in Holland. Longer-lived, Brewster died in Plymouth in 1644. By mid-century Bradford, then entering his sixties (and dying in Plymouth in 1656) was lamenting that their religious cause had fallen short of full realization.[68] Yet, by his prose achievement Bradford nevertheless had preserved his and others' witness of the first times of this God-dependent people's covenantal adventures, including their Nottinghamshire ignition about 1607, narrated as central occasions in Christian history.

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1 William Bradford. *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647,* vol. 1, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), 60: "[A]ll great, and honourable actions, are accompanied with great difficulties; and must be, both enterprised, and overcome with answerable courages."

2 Robert Charles Anderson. *Puritan Pedigrees, The Deep Roots of the Great Migration to New England,* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2018), 1-6, 369.

3 They sought to separate from what they believed was an illegitimate, unlawful church. David D. Hall. *The Puritans, A Transatlantic History* (Princeton, NJ & Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2019) 4, 8, 69-77 & nn.97-123, 202-03 & nn.87-91.

4 Nathaniel Philbrick. *Mayflower, A Story of Courage, Community, and War* (New York, NY: Penguin Group, 2006), 40-42.

5 Martyn Whittock. *Mayflower Lives, Pilgrims in a New World and the Early American Experience* (New York: Pegasus Books, Ltd., 2019), 167.

6 Rebecca Fraser. *The Mayflower, The Families, the Voyage, and the Founding of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017), 54-55.

7 Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs. *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners, Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation* (Plymouth: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009), 620, 625-26.

8 Bernard Bailyn. *The Barbarous Years, The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 334-35.

9 Whittock, *Mayflower Lives,* 6, 37, 168-70 (271: "It is easy to question the strength of the thread that led from it to the constitution of the next century, but the *Mayflower* Compact clearly played its part.").

10 Timothy George. *John Robinson and the English Separatist Tradition* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1982), 92 (called the "authoritative" Robinson study. Hall, Puritans, 447 n.80).

11 Hall, *Puritans,* 10, 203, 349-50.

12 Robert Tombs. *The English and Their History* (London, UK: Allan Lane, 2014), 159. That war was only just beginning as the *Mayflower* sailed. Tom Holland, *Dominion, How The Christian Revolution Remade The World* (London, UK: Little, Brown, 2019), 339-42 (340: "[R]ivalries of Catholic and Protestant princes continued...sucking into the mulch of corpses ever more foreign armies...only stopping at last after thirty years....Millions perished.").

13 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* vol. 1: 24, emphasis added.

14 B.R. White. *The English Separatist Tradition, From The Marian Marytrs To The Pilgrim Fathers* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1971), 121-22; Hall, *Puritans,* 198 & n.77.

15 Ronald A. Marchant. *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York 1560-1642* (Aberdeen, UK: Longmans, Green and Company Limited, 1960), 137, 159-60, 164-66.

16 Edward Arber. *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623 A.D.; as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies* (London, UK: Ward and Downey Limited, 1897), 51.

17 George, *Robinson,* 8; Hall, *Puritans,* 67.

18 Bailyn, *Barbarous* Years, 324.

19 Bailyn, *Barbarous* Years, 322.

20 George, *Robinson,* 74-77; Stephen Foster. *The Long Argument, English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570-1700* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 14, 57-58; Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees,* 20-21, 263; Hall, *Puritans,* 175 & nn.7-8.

21 *E.g.,* Christopher Hilton. *Mayflower, The Voyage That Changed The World* (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2005), 20, 26; Harold Kirk-Smith. *William Brewster, The Father of New England* (Boston, Lincolnshire, UK: Richard Kay, 1992), 66; Mary B. Sherwood. *Pilgrim, A Biography of William*

Brewster (Falls Church, VA: Great Oak Press of Virginia, 1982), 95; Arber, *Pilgrim Fathers*, 51.

22 Babworth Churchwarden P. Swinscoe, AOL message to author, 4 July 2018 (In a 1603 Church of England-required report, Clifton avoided making an entry about his education; his churchwardens did not appear to know his education either; appointed by a lay person who held the advowson to Babworth, Clifton may not have been a University graduate); Enquiry Officer, University of Nottingham Libraries, Manuscripts & Special Collections, AOL message to author, 21 June 2018 (Databases for the Nottingham Archdeaconry Court and for the Clergy of the Church of England, Diocese of York, have no record of his education); Revd. Dr. J. Holmes, Life Fellow & Keeper of the Records, Queens' College, Cambridge, AOL message to author, 19 June 2018 (Neither Venn & Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* nor the *Dictionary of National Biography* shows Clifton's matriculation at Cambridge).

23 Marchant, *Puritans & Church Courts*, 153.

24 Hall, *Puritans*, 52-53 & n.42, 66-69 & nn.88-96.

25 H.C. Porter. *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 139-40.

26 Porter, *Reformation & Reaction*, 140, footnote omitted.

27 Fraser, *Mayflower*, 9-11.

28 Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 218, 250.

29 In 1604, to pressure nonconformists to fall in line, King James' bishops passed 141 canons (rules) covering worship, organization, and clergy behavior. Hall, *Puritans*, 177 & nn.14-15 (a dozen canons concerned errors of Separatism).

30 Bangs, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 22-24, 38; Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 341, 365-66.

31 Patrick Collinson. *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, UK: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 380-81; Marchant, *Puritans & Church Courts*, 153-58, 325.

32 Arbor, *Pilgrim Fathers*, 54.

33 Only this partial structure remains from the magnificent building complex the congregation used for meetings after Richard Clifton's 1605 deprivation. Sue Allan and Julie Dunstan. *In Search of Scrooby Manor*, (United Kingdom: DPS Partnership Ltd., 2013), 15, 33-52, 72-73.

34 Bangs, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 26-27, 161; George, *Robinson*, 82-86; White, *Separatist Tradition*, 156; Marchant, *Puritans & Church Courts*, 151-58.

35 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 1: 25-26; Hall, *Puritans*, 198-99 & n.77.

36 Bangs, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 25, 217-18; Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 19, 195-202, 214, 264-65 & n.37, 341; White, *Separatist Tradition*, 167 (Massachusetts Puritans learned much from the Pilgrims in implementing Congregationalism); Porter, *Reformation & Reaction*, 249-53 (250: "...Robinson's congregation maintained its unity, and did not worship with the existing English churches in Amsterdam."); Hall, *Puritans*, 4-5, 12-13, 343 & n.5, 351.

37 Hall, *Puritans*, 199.

38 Hall, *Puritans*, 202-03 & nn.89-91.

39 Bangs, *Strangers & Pilgrims*, 698; White, *Separatist Tradition*, 2, 155-59.

40 Robert Coachman/Cushman, *The Cry of a Stone, or, a Treatise; ...*commonly are called Brownists (1642, London, UK, R. Oulton & G. Dexter; 2016, rep, Plymouth, General Society of Mayflower Descendants, citation refers to the GSMD edition), 175.

41 George, *Robinson*, 166-67, 235-37 (83-84, 244-45: Robinson's resolution of the tension between a high Calvinist predestinarian theology and a sectarian ecclesiology is the controlling dynamic in his thought and his chief contribution to English separatism theology); Marchant, *Puritans & Church Courts*, 150-51.

42 Richard Rex. *The Making of Martin Luther* (Princeton, NJ & Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2017), 73-74.

43 Rex, *Luther*, 128; Hall, *Puritans*, 15.

44 Don Cameron Allen. *Doubt's Boundless Sea, Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), 132-33.

45 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 1: 98 & n.2; George, *Robinson*, 90-91, 156-57.

46 Porter, *Reformation & Reaction*, 391-97; Lancelot Andrewes. *The Morall Law Expounded* (London, UK: printed for Michael Sparke, *et al.*, 1642), (ProQuest Early English Books Online Print Edition).

47 Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 200; Hall, *Puritans*, 71-75 & nn.106-11.

48 Hall, *Puritans*, 71-72 & n.107, 230.

49 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 2: 350.

50 Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 331-32; Bailyn, 323: "[In Plymouth Brewster also] would acquire a personal library of 382 books, 64 in Latin...;" George, *Robinson*, 61-64 & n.20: Brewster's library included the collected works of William Perkins, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge (61: "In an age of great preachers Perkins was unparalleled...").

51 Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 19-20.

52 Nick Bunker. *Making Haste From Babylon: The Mayflower Pilgrims and their World, a New History* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 136-44; *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations*, vol. 24, The Descendants of Elder William Brewster, Part 1: Generations 1-4 (Plymouth: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2014), 1-6; Marchant, *Puritans & Church Courts*, 141.

53 Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 15-16, 35, 59, 83, 87-88; Hall, *Puritans*, 18, 35, 59 & n.60, 62-64.

54 Diarmaid MacCulloch. *The Reformation* (London, UK: Penguin Books Limited, 2003), 382; Hall, *Puritans*, 51, 66.

55 Hall, *Puritans*, 297.

56 *Puritan Pedigrees*, 87.

57 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 1: 37.

58 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 1: 70-82, i.e., 72-73.

59 Whittock, *Mayflower Lives*, 26-28.

60 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, written *circa* 1630-50, vol. 1: xv.

61 Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 333.

62 Hall, *Puritans*, 16, 198 & n.78.

63 Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, vol. 2: 117.

64 Carlos M. N. Eire. *Reformations, The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven, CT & London, UK: Yale University Press, 2016), 246, 555.

65 Anderson, *Puritan Pedigrees*, 13; Rex, Luther, 85 (Faith for Luther meant "no merely general faith in God...but the specific, personal faith that the saving work of Christ has been made actual and effective in one's own case...")

66 *Mayflower Journal* 3 (2018): 14-15, ("Pilgrim Images V," by James W. Baker)

67 George, *Robinson*, 242.

68 Charles M. Andrews. *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934), vol. 1: 298, emphasis added.

69 Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 356-57; Hall, *Puritans*, 340 & n.115.

Edward Fuller of The *Mayflower* And His Unnamed Wife: Corrections and Observations

by Don Blauvelt

The writer recently purchased the Third Edition (2006) of Volume 4 concerning *Mayflower* passenger Edward Fuller and the subsequent four generations of his descendants by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants. An important trilogy in the writer's profession has proved readily adaptable to family genealogy – *research, document and support* – which does not include taking someone's word for it. And, the six familiar questions in methodical research also apply to genealogy – who, what, when, where, how and why?

All known literature concerning Edward Fuller published prior to the First Edition (1990) of Volume 4 was reviewed as well as all citations contained in the current edition. Volume 4 for Edward Fuller relies heavily on upwards of 90-year-old third-party genealogy compilations. The writer also extensively reviewed microfilm of the 1558-1863 Redenhall, England parish church records, obtained full copies of relevant English probate records, and reviewed notary and other records specifically in Leiden and The Hague and generally elsewhere in the Netherlands.

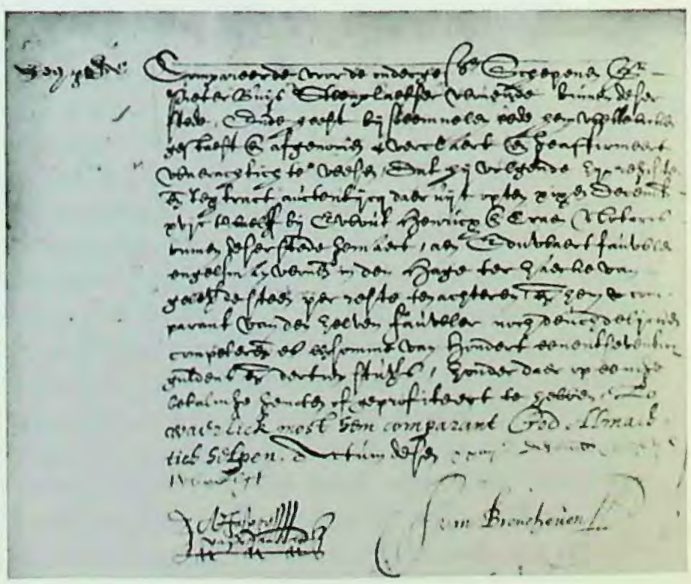
Edward Fuller and His Wife were not Residents of Leiden in 1612

Edward Fuller and his younger brother, Dr. Samuel Fuller, were mutual passengers of the *Mayflower*. Edward was the second son and second child of Robert "the butcher" Fuller and his first wife Sarah Dunkhorn of the parish of Redenhall, in county Norfolk, England. The oldest child of the family was son Thomas with Edward baptized on 4 September 1575. Edward's oldest sister Ann, the third child of the family and only daughter by Sarah Dunkhorn, was baptized on 22 April 1577 while Samuel (aka Dr. Samuel of the Plymouth Colony), the fourth son and fifth child, was baptized on 20 February 1580. These baptisms occurred at the time when England was governed by the Julian calendar. In the post-1751 English Gregorian calendar Dr. Samuel Fuller was historically baptized on 20 February 1580/81.[1]

In records concerning those Pilgrims that sailed on the *Mayflower* who had been residing in Leiden from 1610 to 1620, only two types of records provide evidence of their residence in Leiden – Dutch betrothal[2] and notary records. Rev. John Robinson undoubtedly baptized the children born to members of his Leiden church, perhaps even the parents themselves, but Robinson's private baptism records do not exist. Not all of the *Mayflower* passengers from Leiden were associated with Robinson's church.

In 1614 when the father of Edward and Samuel Fuller died in England, Samuel and his sister Ann were residing in Leiden. Ann formally married William White in Leiden on 16 February 1612 (Dutch calendar) with Ann's brother Samuel a witness to the marriage betrothal. In Ann's betrothal the Dutch wrote Samuel's name as Samuel "Folle." Samuel first appears in Leiden as a witness to the 7 October 1611 betrothal of Degory Priest, later a fellow *Mayflower* passenger. In Samuel's own second and third marriages in Leiden his surname is written by the Dutch alternately as Fuller, Foller and Folle. The associated Leiden betrothal records were initially but only briefly covered in 1911 in Henry Dexter and his son's *England and Holland of the Pilgrims* but followed in 1920 in full detail in Dutch and English by Ploiij and Harris in *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers*. At no time between 1611 and 1620 in the Leiden betrothal records does Samuel and Ann's brother Edward appear.

Then in 1985 was published the claim that Samuel Fuller's brother Edward, and Edward's wife, were residents of Leiden in December 1612 based on a notary record.[3] Without independent verification this claim appears as a purported fact in all editions of the Edward Fuller Volume 4. Many years ago, the former Leiden Municipal Archives website had a 19 page online table referring to *Documents Relating to the Pilgrims*. Fortunately, this

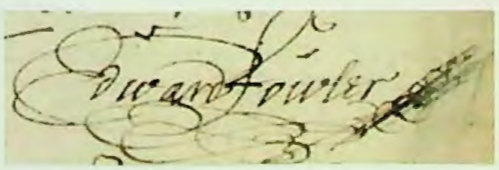


writer copied the entire table, which consisted of a header summary in English of the Dutch document, a brief abstract in English, and a complete transcription in Dutch from the linked Dutch document itself. Included in the table was the December 1612 judicial record of concern. Courtesy of the Leiden Regional Archives, the accompanying image is the top portion of the page containing the December 1612 judicial record.

The provider of the 1985 reference apparently never read the Dutch document while the English header in the former table was misleading. Rather than a resident of Leiden in 1612, "Eduwaert Fauwler, Engelsman, wonende in Den Hage" (Eduwaert Fauwler, Englishman, living in The Hague) owed Leiden stonemason Pieter Biijs (i.e. Buys) for stone Biijs had delivered to Fauwler, presumably in The Hague.

From original handwritten notary books and name indexes online at the Regional Archives of The Hague, the writer traced "Eduwaert Fauwler" in The Hague records. He was the only "Eduwaert Fauwler" or close name variant in the comprehensive name indexes. Entire books had to be downloaded in order to extract the pertinent records. "Eduwaert Fauwler" residing in The Hague was Edward Fowler, an Englishman, who signed in English notary records there in 1613 and 1622.[4]

The signature of Edward Fowler to the February 1622 notary record at The Hague, identical to his signature in the earlier October 1613 notary record.



In the February 1622 record, Edward Fowler was indebted to a Johanna Fowler residing in Amsterdam. Edward had partially paid the debt in September 1621, with the February 1622 record acknowledging Edward owed Johanna the balance of the debt. Edward Fowler is subsequently included by name in three additional notary records between October-December 1622 but did not sign them.

Edward Fuller died in the Plymouth Colony before the spring of 1621. On the other hand, Englishman Edward Fowler, party to a notary record in Leiden in December 1612, was living in The Hague in December 1612. He was also residing there in October 1613, in 1616, in February 1622 and may have still been residing in The Hague as late as December 1622. There is no known document that places *Mayflower* passenger Edward Fuller as a resident of Leiden in 1612 or any other place in the Netherlands from 1611 to 1620.

As late as 2009 writers continued to confuse Edward Fuller with Eduwaert Fauwler (i.e., Edward Fowler) while continuing to place Edward Fuller in Leiden in 1612. On the contrary, in 1612 Edward Fuller was quite likely living in England.

Evidence of Edward Fuller in England in 1614

Before 1902 the *General Society of Mayflower Descendants* accepted Capt. and Dr. Matthew Fuller, who died testate in Barnstable, Massachusetts in 1678, as the son of *Mayflower* Pilgrim Edward Fuller. But based on a series of articles by Francis H. Fuller in 1901-1902 in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, coupled with incomplete extracts from the records of the parish church of Redenhall, Matthew was reconsidered to be the son of Edward Fuller's younger brother John. Matthew Fuller was then dropped from the ranks of being the son of a *Mayflower* passenger for the ensuing 83 years.[5] Then in 1985 before the first edition of Volume 4 was published, authors MacGunnigle, Sherman and Wakefield published an article purporting to prove Matthew Fuller was the son of *Mayflower* passenger Edward Fuller.[6] Matthew did not arrive in the Plymouth Colony with wife Frances and his children until shortly before 1640, or nearly 20 years after Edward Fuller's death.

In the 1985 article the authors claimed that in the May 1614 will of Edward's father, Robert "the butcher" Fuller of Redenhall, Edward was "given 'a tenement' and £20" with his father "apparently expecting him to live in England." These statements fall well short of properly representing the basis of Robert Fuller's will.[7] In modern English with punctuation added:

Item I give unto Edward my son my tenement sometimes Assyes in Harleston with all the houses, buildings, yards, gardens, orchards and all other appurtenances and also all evidences and writings belonging to said tenement, except the copy hold orchard, to have and to hold the tenement to the said Edward his heirs and assigns forever immediately after the decease of Frances my wife.

Item I give and bequeath unto Edward my son the sum of twenty pounds of lawful English money to be paid to Edward or his assigns within two whole years next after my decease, provided always and my mind is that if Edward my son, his executors, administrators and assigns shall not discharge and pay all such sums of money as I stand bound to any [person] for the said debts of Edward then I will that all the gifts before given or hereafter given shall be utterly void and of no effect to Edward and his heirs and assigns and the same shall be and remain to Thomas my son and his heirs forever.

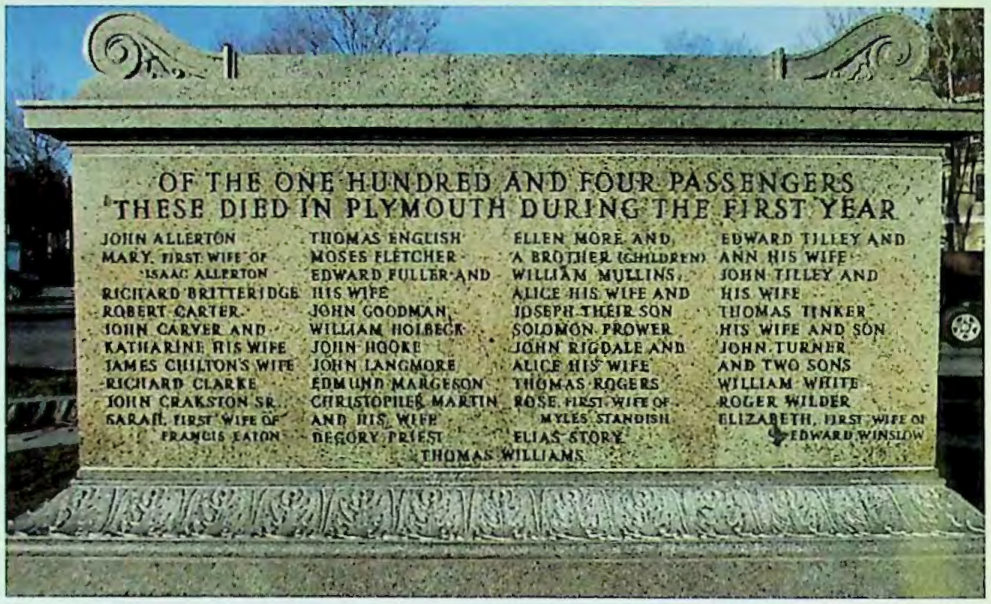
In a later provision in his will, Robert Fuller bequeathed to son Edward and daughters Ann, Elizabeth and Mary each a one-eighth share of the residual of the household goods and chattels not bequeathed to wife Frances and eldest son Thomas. While Edward was to acquire ownership of the tenement Assyes upon the death of stepmother Frances, she outlived Edward by 11 years and was buried in Redenhall on 28 March 1632. More immediately, as noted Edward's legacy of £20, which was to be paid within two whole years after his father's decease, and additional one-eighth share in the residual property of his father, were void if Edward failed to discharge his debts, part or all of which had in effect been guaranteed by his father.

Simply put, upwards of six years before Edward Fuller arrived in the Plymouth Colony, he was in debt at least to his father, if not also to others in England. Whether Edward did or did not pay his debts by 1616 may never be known. Nonetheless, might his debts have been a factor why Edward joined his younger brother Samuel aboard the *Mayflower*?

The Name of Edward Fuller's Wife is Unknown

No record has been uncovered where, when and to who Edward Fuller married. On the other hand, Volume 4 leaves incomplete an item that could have been further explored – "Savage calls his wife Ann, but there is no known evidence that this was her name." Multiple examples appear on genealogy websites where people have taken this statement from Volume 4 then parse it to only read "Savage calls his wife Ann" citing Savage as authority for the name Ann.[8] Why did Savage call Edward's wife by the name of Ann?

Two of the references utilized by Volume 4 include Bradford's history, (1952ed., p.446) and Savage 2:215



(Fuller). The long-lost manuscript of Bradford's history *Of Plimoth Plantation* was found in 1855 in England and first published in America in 1856. It includes two appendixes, the first a list and numerical count of those who sailed on the *Mayflower*, the second an account of what happened to those people. A few modern editions combine the two appendixes, but whether two lists or a combined list they are of:

The names of those who came over first in the Mayflower, in the year 1620 and were by the blessing of God the first beginners and founders of the Settlements and Colonies of New England, with their families: written down A. D. 1650.

In a reprint edition that combines the two lists, without loss in context Edward Fuller's entry is:

Edward Fuller, his wife, and their son Samuel, 3. Mr. and Mrs. Fuller died soon after they came ashore. Their son Samuel is living, and has four children, or more.

Seven entries beforehand, Bradford's entry for Edward Tillie states:

Edward Tillie, Ann his wife, and two children (their cousins) Henry Samson and Humility Cooper. 4. Mr. and Mrs. Edward Tillie died soon after their arrival. Humility Cooper returned to England and died there. Henry Samson is living and has seven children.

In 1860-62, James Savage published his well-known Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England. In volume 2:215, Edward Fuller's listing states:

Fuller, Edward, Plymouth, brother of the famous Samuel, came with him in the Mayflower 1620, bringing wife Ann and son Samuel, and leaving Matthew, on the other side, who was elder, died early next year as did his wife, but his son Samuel outlived the hardships.

Savage's entry for Edward Tilley (q.v. Tillie) states (4:302):

Tilley, Edward, Plymouth 1620, came with wife in the Mayflower, and two children, "their cousins," Henry Sampson, and Humility Cooper. He and his wife died the first winter. Humility went home and died.

Many family genealogies published prior to 1913 state without qualification that Edward's wife was named Ann. Other genealogies published after 1913 exclude giving Edward Fuller's wife a name. This undoubtedly is due to a 1913 statement by George Ernest Bowman in *Pilgrim Notes and Queries* (1:83):

Gov. Bradford, in his History of Plymouth Plantation, is the only contemporary writer who mentions the wife of Edward Fuller, and he does not give her a Christian name. She is frequently called "Ann" by modern writers, but in no case is the authority given for the name. It is probable that the first writer to call her "Ann" confounded the names of Edward Fuller and Edward Tilley. The latter's wife was given as "Ann" in Bradford's History.

In summary, Savage errantly assigned Edward Tilley's wife Ann to Edward Fuller while giving Edward Tilley no named wife. Had Volume 4 inquired why did Savage state what he did and used all available and pertinent references to find the answer, it could have readily explained Savage's error and prevented continuation of a false claim. This is reinforced by the accompanying monument erected in 1920 at Coles Hill in Plymouth, Massachusetts by the General Society of Mayflower Descendants. (L-R, column 2, Edward Fuller and His Wife; column 4, Edward Tilley and Ann His Wife).

Don Blauvelt is a retired real estate appraiser in Florida specializing in income producing and other complex commercial properties. For more than 25 years the author has been researching his maternal ancestry consisting largely of the earliest immigrant settlers of the Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts and Connecticut. As a descendant of *Mayflower* Pilgrim Edward Fuller, this article is the result of his private editing and selected continuation of the fifth generation of the Third Edition (2006) of the GSMD's Volume 4 for Edward Fuller. He may be reached at dblauvelt1620@gmail.com.

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1 From the writer's personal copy of the microfilmed Redenhall parish church records, which have never been filmed by the LDS. This personal copy was obtained after receiving permission in 2017 from the parish incumbent allowing the Norfolk Records Office in Norwich, England to provide the writer with a copy of the record office's microfilm. Francis H. Fuller's 1901 transcription of the Redenhall parish register erroneously states Samuel was baptized on 20 January 1580 (Julian calendar) when the register actually says 20 February 1580. Thus, all published literature regarding Samuel's Julian calendar date of baptism is wrong.

2 A Dutch betrothal record was the registering of the intent to marry while meeting certain legal provisions accompanied by witnesses on behalf of both the intended bride and groom. This was followed by the marriage banns being declared on three successive Sundays before the marriage was performed. Who witnessed a Leiden marriage is not of record.

3 *The Mayflower Quarterly* 51 (1985): 58, "Mayflower Passengers Documented in Leiden: A List," citing a Leiden Judicial record - Edward Fuller and Mrs. Edward Fuller, wife, R.A. 79, L, folio 172 verso.

4 He may have signed an additional notary record in 1616, but due to the record book not meeting acceptable standards for scanning, The Hague archives has not digitized its contents.

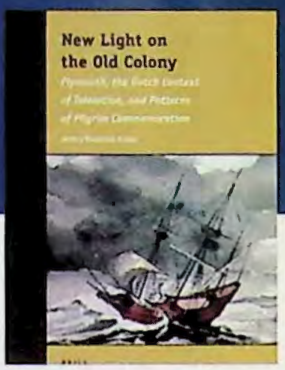
5 Edward Fuller's natural brother John married Margaret Balls on 19 December 1599 in the adjoining parish of Starston. The second child by Margaret was eldest son John, who is grandson John Fuller in the 1614 will of his grandfather Robert "the butcher" Fuller (see further in footnote 7). The third child was son Matthew baptized on 16 October 1603.

6 *The American Genealogist* (TAG), 61 (1985): 194-99, "Was Matthew Fuller of Plymouth Colony a Son of Pilgrim Edward Fuller?" by Bruce C. MacGunnigle, Robert M. Sherman and Robert S. Wakefield.

7 This article also states Robert Fuller gave "grandson John Fuller, son of my son John Fuller, £5 for his apprenticeship," which is misleading. Robert Fuller's will says: "When my grandson, John Fuller, son of my son John Fuller, shall be of age sufficient to be bound apprentice, then my son Thomas to have the choosing of his master and trade and to pay five pounds to set him forth." Of further importance, Robert Fuller's will makes no mention of or provision for his deceased son John's widow Margaret or for any other children of deceased son John.

8 See the special issue of the *Genealogical Journal*, (Utah Genealogical Association), "Early Plymouth Colony Families," 1984-5, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 152, by Eugene A. Stratton and Robert S. Wakefield. In part, "41, Edward Fuller married an Ann whose surname is not known; he died in Plymouth during the first winter; 42, Ann Fuller, the wife of Edward, she died during the first winter." Then see Stratton's inconsistency one year later in his singularly authored *Plymouth Colony, Its History & People 1620-1691* (1986), 294: "The wife of Edward Fuller, who accompanied him on the 1620 Mayflower, has sometimes been called Ann Fuller, but there is no evidence that that was her name, nor is her maiden name known. She died during the early months at Plymouth."

Book Reviews



New Light on the Old Colony, Plymouth, the Dutch Context of Toleration, and Patterns of Pilgrim Commemoration

by Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, e-book or hardback, $210.00 (publ. Brill, 2019)
Review by James W. Baker

Having by happenstance arrived in Leiden, The Netherlands and finding employment in the municipal archives, Dr. Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs was assigned in 1980 the task of dealing with English-speaking visitors on a subject he had never looked into – the *Mayflower* Pilgrims. He was also told that further research would be a waste of time, as "that's all been done already." Telling him that any research topic was foreordained as fruitless had a predictable response – he would be the judge of that! The challenge was well met as forty years on, Dr. Bangs has achieved the most extensive assemblage of new resources and critical interpretations of any contributor to the cliché-ridden annals of Plymouth Colony history.

Dr. Bangs' scholarly contribution to Pilgrim history (which is only one of his varied areas of expertise) can be put in two categories, edited transcriptions of primary source records and scholarly studies on a wide variety of relevant topics. The former includes the previously unpublished or inadequately edited seventeenth-century town records of Bridgewater, Dartmouth, Duxbury, Eastham, Marshfield, and (most significantly) Scituate during the Plymouth Colony era, as well as colonial deeds (1651-1671) omitted from the Shurtleff-Pulsifer edition of the *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*. In addition, his transcripts of documents in the Pilgrim Hall collections, the compilation of *Indian Deeds* (NEHGS, 2002) and bibliographic survey of intellectual heritage in *Plymouth Colony's Private Libraries* (Leiden American Pilgrim Museum, 2016) further demonstrate his prodigious industry in construing the difficult handwritten archives of the colony. Dr. Bangs has thus made available an abundance of documentary resources that can and we hope will thoroughly improve future historical analyses of the Old Colony.

His other contribution, which similarly is as remarkable as it is edifying, are the wide-ranging studies and analyses of the history of the Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony. These are not limited to independent articles and monographs. The introductions to the Indian Deeds, the Scituate Town Records or the colony's Private Libraries are compelling assessments of previously disregarded bodies of evidence that substantially deepen our understanding of the lives, mindsets and interactions of the cultures that met together in Plymouth Colony. Dr. Bangs' latest publication, *New Light on the Old Colony* (Brill, 2020), brings together a representative number of these studies that exemplify the breadth and depth of his prolific career.

The first chapter, "Plymouth's Creation: A Congregational Commonwealth," takes up the role the famous *Mayflower* Compact may have played in establishing Plymouth Colony's system of governance, carefully moving between the extremes of glorification and repudiation by earlier commentators. He surveys the laws and politics that characterized the civil and religious interactions during the colony's seventy-two years of independent existence. However, the additional value of this essay is that it provides in a clear and readable manner an excellent summary of Plymouth Colony's entire post-1620s history. The little colony's significance was not limited to the town of Plymouth alone nor did it simply fade away after the alleged "First Thanksgiving" was over. As the reader proceeds through the chapter, he or she will find that some of the most interesting and informative details are contained in the extended digressions or lengthy footnotes Dr. Bangs so excels in.

The second chapter is extracted from the introduction in the *Indian Deeds* volume. The emotional question of the colonists' encroachment on and acquisition of Wampanoag lands and resources that hitherto has been conducted on a relatively superficial level is addressed through detailed analysis of the actual transactions and the individuals involved – Native and colonial. George Willison (*Saints and Strangers*), Francis Jennings (*The Invasion of America*) and others put the entire onus for the alienation of Native territory on the colonials, but the deeds show that it was not accomplished without the knowledgeable complicity of Native vendors. Dr. Bangs explodes the myth of Native impersonal communal land ownership and the belief in enduring naïve ignorance of what European property law entailed. The sales were neither theft nor necessarily forcible extortion. On the other hand, he exposes the illegal actions of successive governments (including our own) in nullifying the agreements and

promises that aggravated mere alienation of property into the deprivation of reserved territories and local sovereignty.

The short chapter that follows deals with Governor Bradford and the influence of Dutch law and customs on civil marriage in the Old Colony. Dr. Bangs has narrowed down to specific editions two sources cited by Bradford, Edward Grimeston's *General History of the Netherlands* and Emanuel van Meteren's, *Dutch Commentaries.* The latter also contained the "Union of Utrecht" that could be a model for the confederation of the United Colonies of New England in 1643. Characteristically he does trace colonial developments such as this to specific and often singular sources, rather than considering other multiple cultural influences.

The fourth chapter, "Intellectual Baggage," touches on a subject in which he and I have always shared an interest[1] – the transformation of the historical Plymouth colonists into the legendary "Pilgrim Fathers" (subsequently simply "The Pilgrims") with all of the depictions, interpretations and controversies that accompanied this. As he notes, the beliefs and values attributed to the colonists have more often reflected those of the commentators than of the Pilgrims themselves. "Personal interests, changing assessments of what a developing narrative became, and fashions in historiography can be underlying assumptions affecting how we look at the same source material."[2] To correct for this, Dr. Bangs examines a most trustworthy source, books listed in the probate inventories which the Plymouth colonists relied upon to understand the world they lived in. He discusses the particular Bibles, psalm books, works of theology and piety, religious polemics, history, and miscellaneous titles that informed their beliefs and worldview.

The fifth chapter concerns several works of art traditionally but mistakenly thought to be contemporary depictions of the Pilgrims, followed by three examples newly identified by Dr. Bangs as being the real thing. Despite an impressive marshalling of evidence (and as I understand, concurring opinions by other experts), the argument for the two Adam Willaerts (1557-1664) paintings is not in my opinion fully persuasive. The possible inclusion of Edward Winslow in a print titled "Ratification of the Treaty of Westminster" (1654), on the other hand, appears a valuable discovery of a second depiction in addition to the Pilgrim Hall portrait.

The next four chapters are drawn from the introductions to his transcriptions of the town records of Scituate, Eastham and Marshfield. Here we have the benefit of Dr. Bangs' well-informed perspective on the archival documents of these communities, an accomplishment that can only be welcomed by anyone interested in the early development of Plymouth Colony. The most impressive of these is that of Scituate, the colony's most prosperous and populous community, including its interactions with the rest of New England and aboard. The results are more informative about colonial life than those of any other Old Colony town including Plymouth itself. Regrettably, the full NEHGS three-volume edition of the Scituate records is out of print, although it can be viewed at **www.hathitrust.org**. Now that this shortened version of the original chapter has been made easily available, he has rectified that oversight. Dr. Bangs has tended to criticize other historians for ignoring the Scituate records in the past, which is a bit unfair as Scituate later appeared to be just another ordinary New England town, which did not encourage in-depth investigation. Also, few scholars had his advantage of the several years of uninterrupted free time in situ to investigate and transcribe the extensive archive.

The next section investigates the question of Dutch toleration of non-conforming sects that played so central a role in the Pilgrim Story. The tenth chapter, which only appears to be a departure from Pilgrim topics, discusses the Dutch support and aid for the Swiss and Palantine Mennonites, who were tragically persecuted by Calvinist and other authorities ostensibly on civil grounds throughout the seventeenth-century. This action had a vital influence on the development of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience in The Netherlands.[3] The following chapter, which begins with an examination of subsequent religious toleration in New Amsterdam, or rather the lack thereof, surprisingly expands into a brilliant exposé of the myth of Dutch liberal ecumenism that has been a matter of faith among scholars for so long. Even before the *Speedwell* was being outfitted for emigration, Holland was retreating from the policy of compassionate tolerance embodied in Union of Utrecht (1579). "In England, however, most people were unaware of the changes. The English knew about the theological decisions of the Synod of Dort [indeed, John Robinson wrote a defense of Calvinist doctrines propounded at the synod]; but the legal changes outside the synod's acts received far less publicity. People continued to learn about The Netherlands from the books that published the text of the Union of Utrecht. The religious toleration of the Dutch thereby remained famous in England, while toleration mandated by law had become a memory inconsistent with mid-seventeenth century reality."[4] Nevertheless, the ideals of toleration that had been fleetingly potent in Holland were not forgotten, but continued to influence liberal thought in England and the American colonies. Untangling the

myths of how and where the ideal of religious tolerance eventually took root in America (more so in Rhode Island and Bermuda than in New Amsterdam, Boston or Plymouth), even as the "dissenting voices [that] urged toleration in the English colonies, as also in England and The Netherlands" went unheeded for many years. The fascinating if unsuccessful attempt to acquire full toleration with "no limitation or exception against Turk Jew Papist Arian Socinian Nicholyan Familist or any other"[5] as argued in Roger Williams' *Bloody Tenent* (1644) by leading citizens in Plymouth Colony is among the most telling examples of Dr. Bang's capacity for ferreting out neglected but crucial historical patterns and explaining them cogently and in their documented context.

The twelfth chapter returns to the subject of "Intellectual Baggage" and the commemoration that derived from the Plymouth colonists' apotheosis as America's sainted founders, the forefathers of the Forefathers of the Revolutionary generation. Plymouth Rock, early history paintings by Sargent and Schwartze, Billings' massive Forefathers' Monument, the tradition of triumphal processions mirrored in George Baker's 1921 pageant and Plimoth Plantation are invoked in turn, "[t]o summarize, I am suggesting that the Pilgrims have been like a screen on which people could project whatever they wanted to have as their own ancestral virtues to justify their own points of view."[6] He finds this both understandable and, for the colonists' actual achievements, admirable.

The thirteenth chapter is a survey of the evolution of Plimoth Plantation's re-created architecture, a topic I have also written on.[7] While we might disagree on certain points, Dr. Bangs' essay is impressively cogent – and a little dispiriting, as he accurately observes that in recent years the reliance on historical scholarship (as opposed to "common sense" rationalization) has declined. His closing illustration of metal braces and pressure-treated timber indicate to what an extent expediency has at least temporarily trumped the ideals of historical accuracy in which the former "Pilgrim Village," (now the "English Village,"[8]) was conceived.

Chapter fourteen, "Always More Pilgrim Books," is a bibliographic survey of significant titles in the development of Plymouth history, such as Morton's *New England's Memorial* (1660), Thacher's *History of the town of Plymouth* (1832/35), Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1841/44) and Shurtleff/ Pulsifer's *Plymouth Colony Records* (1855-1861), Pierce's derogatory interpretation in *Indian History, Biography, and Genealogy* (1878) and of course Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1856). Dr. Bangs is rather hard on Jane G. Austin, who was purposely writing romantic fiction (and hardly the first to do so) rather than history, even though her work has had a regrettable influence on the "fake news" about the colonists. In the twentieth century he notes the Dexters' excellent research (for the time) in *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (1905), Usher's pedestrian tercentennial *The Pilgrims and Their History* (1918), Willison's extremely popular *Saints and Strangers* (1945), Morison's editions of Bradford, plus more recent works ranging from Langdon's scholarly *Plymouth Colony* (1966) and his own *Strangers and Pilgrims* (2009) and others both good and dubious to those he finds wanting, such as Bunker's *Making Haste from Babylon*, Philbrick's *Mayflower*, and Deetz and Deetz's *The Times of Their Lives* (2000). This is a thorough and perceptive overview of how the Pilgrims have been represented in print, couched in Dr. Bangs' sometimes sardonic critical style. He has never been shy about confronting nonsense and misrepresentation masquerading as history, for which he has little patience.

The closing chapter, "Thanksgiving on the Net: Roast Bull with Cranberry Sauce," is an example of how Dr. Bangs treats what he sees as arrant balderdash. In this excoriating survey of politically motivated fictions and evidence-less assertions (both adulatory and opprobrious) that have appeared in print and (more prolifically) on the internet concerning the Thanksgiving holiday and Pilgrim history in general,[9] he takes on the falsification of history with indignant gusto and characteristic mordant humor. The tone is established in a quote from Jane Kamensky of Brandeis (now Harvard) University questioning to whether the perspectives of advocates for the Pilgrims or Indigenous Peoples are the most correct. A valid query but her conclusion is rather disconcerting:

To ask whether this [i.e., pro-Indian bias] is true is to ask the wrong question. It's true to its purpose. Every bit as true, that is, as the stories some Americans in 1792 and 1863 told about the events of 1492 and 1691.

Together with Dr. Bangs I find this dismissal of historical accuracy or even fairness unacceptable. It implies a rejection of scholarly historiography in favor of propaganda advancing social engineering (justified or not). In the tension between advocacy and objectivity, the inaccuracy of earlier opinions was arrived at naïvely and largely without intentional malice, where as we now know better and should correct for such bias. To cynically encourage a tit-for-tat response that sanctions a spurious condemnation of the Plymouth colonists for political purposes is both dishonest – and unnecessary, as the historical record of the colony furnishes sufficient documentary support to make a reasonable case for Native grievances.

Dr. Bangs takes on assertions about earlier colonial "first Thanksgivings," imaginary and delusory embellishments of the 1621 historical facts, evergreen revelations about buckles and black clothes, the period use of the term "pilgrim," the invention (even found on postcards, ca. 1910) of a 1623 November Thanksgiving "proclamation" foisted onto Governor Bradford, and the confusion surrounding the 1623 changes in land and labor assignments as a rejection of "communism" rather than a straight-forward example of capitalism. The worst offence against historical integrity, however, is by the purveyors of blatant vituperation representing the Pilgrims as villains of the deepest dye in American history, not by citing evidence but through cynical and fantastical diatribes pandering to contemporary concerns about the European displacement of America's indigenous population. In this characteristically witty yet deeply informed concluding chapter, he demonstrates once again his thorough mastery of the subject in skillful if exasperated exposés of tendentious fallacies.

In keeping with his magisterial investigation into the *Mayflower* Pilgrims' Dutch experience, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners* (GSMD, 2009), *New Light on the Old Colony* is a resource that no genuine student of the Pilgrims may disregard. Dr. Bangs consolidates the results of unparalleled comprehension of the topics involved to show what further investigation into the Pilgrim Story actually could accomplish, the culmination of a career that began those forty years ago. As is inevitable in compilations of articles written over many years for different audiences, there is as he notes "some cross-references and repetition of material" and variations in the authorial tenor may be challenging for casual readers. Also as no serious historical interpretations are free of controversy (and he has never shunned controversy), there are instances where evidence appears forced into conclusions that are not unarguably so. Similarly, too much weight is occasionally given to favored examples involving The Netherlands or Scituate, Massachusetts. Such quibbles aside, however, this vitally important companion to Dr. Bangs' many significant monographs and historical transcriptions concerning the Pilgrims and their colony deserves the commendation and gratitude of everyone who sincerely wants to truly understand the circumstances of the Mayflower passengers, their contemporaries and successors, and what their story can mean to us four centuries later. Bravo, Jeremy!

James W. Baker is the former Director of Research at Plimoth Plantation. He is a historian and author living and working in Plymouth, Mass., and is the Contributing Historian of The *Mayflower Quarterly Magazine*.

This Land is Their Land, The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving

by David Silverman, e-book, $22.50 (Bloomsbury USA, 2019)
Review by James W. Baker

DAVID J. SILVERMAN
THIS LAND IS THEIR LAND
THE WAMPANOAG INDIANS, PLYMOUTH COLONY, AND THE TROUBLED HISTORY OF THANKSGIVING

David Silverman's *This Land is Their Land* is an alternative interpretation of English/Native interaction in Plymouth Colony in order to represent the Wampanoag side of story. He begins by addressing complaints that the Thanksgiving holiday distorts America's awareness of the long-term results of New England colonialism. As opposed to the popular understanding that the "First Thanksgiving" was the culmination of a year of amicable interaction that led to a fifty-year history of peace and accord, Silverman concludes "The early history of the Wampanoag and Plymouth took place against [a] dark background of mourning, suspicion, desperation, and fear. It is the most basic element missing from the Thanksgiving myth."[10]

By necessity conjectural, given the lack of available contemporary information on the Native side, Silverman reconstructs how Massasoit (Ousamequin) presumably conceived of the fragile alliance with the initially vulnerable Plymouth colonists, seeking to safeguard his tribal confederation that had been tragically weakened by disease and rival Native threats (both internal and external). Silverman sets the immediate fact of the 1621 "treaties" (both the oral March 22 and the written September 13 accords) in context by a thorough examination of earlier Native and European interaction and the contemporary unstable regional situation. In tracing how Massasoit's momentous decision to accommodate rather than resist the colonial beachhead at Patuxet turned out, Silverman makes an impressive and credible case for the grievances the Wampanoag

have against popular impressions associated with Thanksgiving.

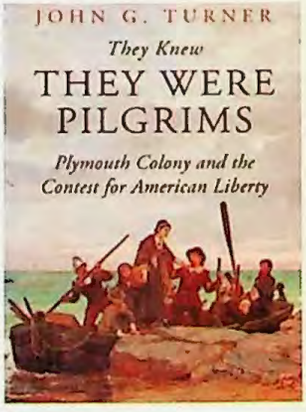
Readers may object that the depiction he paints in hindsight is too fraught with unrelieved anxiety, suspicion and treachery to be the whole story. Some of the material might be interpreted differently. They may feel that obscuring even fleeting bright spots such as the personal bonding between Massasoit and Edward Winslow or the first generation's sincere efforts at cooperation as opposed to King Philip's (Pumetacom) and Governor Josiah Winslow's violent confrontation, (leaning towards a presumption of conquest rather than accommodation), is unfair. However, as evidence of greed, treachery (on both sides) and oppression inexorably accumulates right up into modern times, it is impossible to imagine how any attempt to depict the Native perspective could do otherwise. Despite the tragic tone of much of the book, it concludes on an optimistic note, showing how contemporary Wampanoag opinion concerning the Thanksgiving problem is, as has long been the case, both astute and judicious – a welcome contrast to the self-serving diatribes of outsider would-be "sympathizers."

Silverman is on the whole fair and balanced in his assessments, revealing a wealth of information about the strengths and shortcomings of both cultures. He shows that even during King Philip's War there was not a solely racial "us against them" situation as Native tribes were divided in their allegiances. *This Land is Their Land* is also an excellent jargon-free source on inter-racial economic and social relations in Plymouth Colony history apart from the common focus on military and political factors. It is an excellent re-examination, soundly based on extensive historical evidence that documents the effect colonial expansion, laws and Christianity had on indigenous cultures of Southern New England. Highly recommended.

James W. Baker is the former Director of Research at Plimoth Plantation. He is a historian and author living and working in Plymouth, Mass., and is the Contributing Historian of The *Mayflower Quarterly Magazine.*

They Knew They Were Pilgrims: Plymouth Colony and the Contest for American Liberty

by John G. Turner, $30.00 (Yale University Press, 2020).
Review by Peggy M. Baker



In this very readable new history, both of the Pilgrims and the colony they founded, John Turner weaves a compelling narrative around the changeable concept of "liberty," from the early Separatist community's search for religious freedom in England to the end of the Colony's political freedom in 1692.

Turner opens with a fascinating study of the development of Separatists' often misunderstood view on religious liberty. The debates and arguments on this matter (and many others), held under the broad umbrella of English Puritanism, securely placed the Separatists on the radical fringe, believing that their freedom as Christians made them responsible for forming their own congregations, electing their own church officers and exercising their own church discipline. Their particular view of religious liberty did not imply toleration or acceptance of divergent views; it was, simply the freedom to be subject to the Word of God or, as Turner phrases it, freedom "from sin, Satan and death" [p. 9] through faith. Turner then relates the growth of the specific Separatist congregation that would become the heart of the "Pilgrim movement" by introducing characters both familiar (Robert Cushman and William Brewster) and relatively unknown (Thomas and Joan Helwys), taking the story (and its participants) from England to the Netherlands. Then, after an insightful analysis of the reality of Dutch "toleration" in the 17th century, he leads us gracefully into the *Mayflower* voyage.

With the formation of Plymouth Colony imminent, Turner returns again to the concept of liberty. The Separatists were now required to expand their limited concept of liberty beyond the religious, incorporating issues of political liberty: who possessed it? Who had the right to participate in government? What was the role of authority and how did that authority, recognized as needful, mesh (or not) with personal liberty? Turner integrates these questions into a nicely-balanced treatment of the Mayflower Compact, both in its meaning to the men who signed it and its significance for the future. We then see the arrival, in 1625, of "a string of English visitors and new comers" [p. 106], threatening the unity of the fledgling colony, with the religious practices of Plymouth's ruling Separatists providing the

flashpoint. After a fast-paced and thorough narrative of the double storm caused by the appearance of the Rev. John Lyford and of "Lord of Misrule" Thomas Morton, the geographical scope of Turner's analysis of "freedom" widens with the appearance of the Winthrop Fleet (where the often-undervalued influence of Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts Bay's establishment of the Congregational form of church governance is acknowledged) and of Roger Williams, a proponent of "soul liberty" (what we today would call religious toleration), whom Plymouth firmly nudged outside of its boundaries.

Turner continues his history of the Colony through the often-ignored middle years. Without forcing the narrative into his thematic structure, he nevertheless highlights events that that directly impacted or altered the settlers' understanding of religious and civic freedom, or that illuminate those concepts for the reader. In particularly lucid chapters, Turner examines the role of "freemen" in government, as well as the extraordinary religious conflicts of the mid-17th century, beginning with the "antinomian controversy," through the disruption caused by the iconoclastic Samuel Gorton (who referred to William Bradford as "Satan" in open court), to the one-on-one clash of the titans between William Vassall of Scituate and Edward Winslow of Marshfield over the issue of religious toleration (Edward was against it), and then the series of crises caused by the arrival of Quakers and Baptists, religious dissenters whose opposition to Plymouth's enforced religious uniformity would eventually be a factor in the Colony's demise.

A third thread, equal to those of religious freedom and political liberty, is the relationship between the colonists and the Wampanoag people, particularly as it pertains to yet another form of liberty, namely Native sovereignty in their lands. Acknowledging that no primary sources exist for Massasoit's understanding of the 1621 treaty, Turner argues that Massasoit did accept the authority of King James, but not that of Plymouth Colony, which he saw as an equal. This precarious understanding did not survive the first generation. The subsequent denial of Native independence, as evidenced by a conspicuous series of fines levied by the Plymouth Court that resulted in the forced sale of land, led inevitably to Native dispossession with the sale of captives (including noncombatants) into slavery after King Philip's War paralleling the introduction of African slavery into the Colony.

In this narrative, the end of the Colony comes as almost a relief. As Turner points out in his epilogue, however, the story is not necessarily (or only) one of decline and failure, but rather of a founding search for liberty that was continually widened by dissent and struggle. As such, *They Knew They Were Pilgrims* is a welcome antidote to a sometimes-saccharine view of the Pilgrims, acknowledging their contributions to early America without expecting them to foresee the unknowable future forces they would face or to have the wisdom of hindsight.

Peggy Baker is a Plymouth, Massachusetts historian and the Thomas Roger Family editor of the GSMD *Silver Books*, the Director Emerita of the Pilgrim Society and Pilgrim Hall Museum, and an Honorary Life Member of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. She is a frequent contributor to The *Mayflower Quarterly Magazine.*

1 Full disclosure – I have known and worked with Jeremy since 1983. We have not always agreed in matters of interpretation – both being possessed of strong opinions – but I have had nothing but the greatest appreciation and respect during the years in which we have interacted.

2 Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs. *New Light on the Old Colony*. Leiden: Brill, 2020, 99.

3 It should be noted that, having descended from a Swiss and Danish family line (with no *Mayflower* connection), Dr. Bangs has conducted research on the Mennonites that is as impressive as his work with the Pilgrims.

4 *New Light*, 358.

5 *New Light*, 357.

6 *New Light*, 404.

7 *Old-Time New England*, SPNEA 74 [spring 1996]: 49-74, "As Time Will Serve: The Evolution of Plimoth Plantation's Recreated Architecture," by James W. Baker

8 A serious misnomer as it isn't as implied a depiction of an English town, but an American settlement *occupied* by English people.

9 He and I do view the Thanksgiving and period use of the term "pilgrim" questions differently.

10 David Silverman. *This Land is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving*. (New York, Bloomsbury, 2019), 98.

THE MAYFLOWER
QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

PO BOX 3297
PLYMOUTH, MA
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General Society of Mayflower Descendants

Periodical

Volume 86, No. 1
Spring 2020

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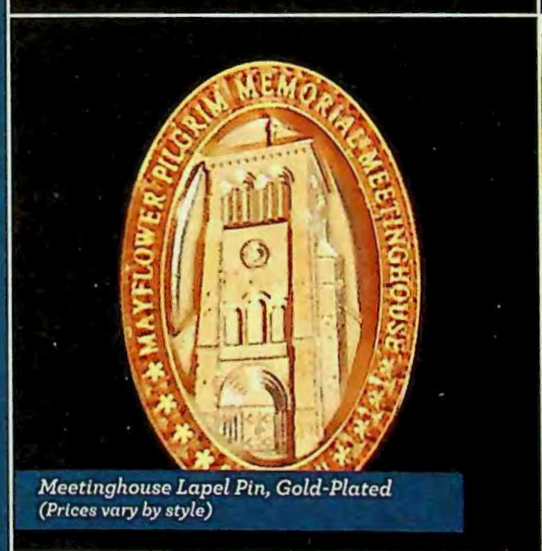

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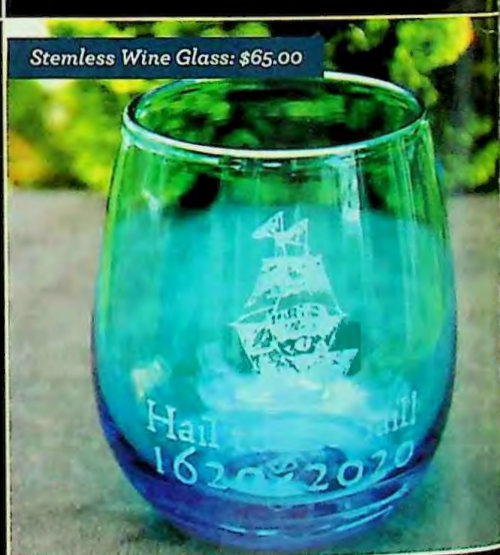

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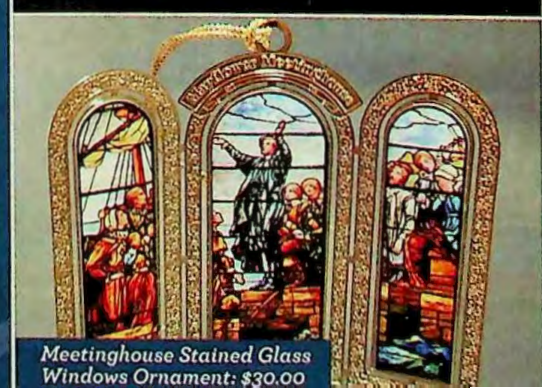

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